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LEGEND AND HISTORY OF THE FATH

MADINAT HARAR EDITED, TRANSLATED AND EXPLAINED

BY YAHYA NASRALLAH

FROM

EWALD WAGNER

3 1761 01659074 7

GERMAN MOORGENLAND SOCIETY

ABMISSIONSVERLAG FRANZ STEINER GMBH WIESBADEN
1978

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INTRODUCTION

1. Research into Ethiopian Islam and its history has made significant progress in recent decades, especially through the numerous works of ENRICO CERULLI, which enabled J. SPENCER TRIMINGHAM in 1952 to create a comprehensive work with his Islam in Ethiopia can serve as a solid starting point for current and future research. In order to go significantly beyond what TRIMINGHAM offers, especially in the historical field, it is primarily necessary to develop new sources. One such source, the Fath madinat Harar by Yahya Nasrallāh, will be presented in this work, and at the same time an attempt will be made to evaluate this source for historical research. The reader will quickly realize that the latter is a very risky and perhaps even fruitless undertaking once he has familiarized himself with the character of this source by reading the following chapter. However, given the scarcity of material that we have on the history of Islam in Ethiopia, it seemed right to me to use dubious sources and to put aside concerns about publication. In this case, however, I did not consider it practical to release the text to the public without interpretation. Although the text is interesting in itself as evidence of historiography in a Muslim community largely cut off from the rest of the Islamic ecumenism and under pressure from Christian foreign rule, the main motivation for its publication is the desire to find new historical facts determine and incorporate these into the current state of knowledge. That's why I would like to try this, even if some experts may be of the opinion that such a document is not worth the effort because no firm conclusions can be drawn from it. Of course, I am aware that all my deductions are highly hypothetical and that they can be overturned by new material, but perhaps also by a different interpretation of the existing material. But if they encourage others to overturn them and replace them with safer ones, they may not have been in vain.

2. The main part of this work will consist of a text edition of the Fath madinat Harar, a translation and a detailed commentary. Before I present the text, however, a few introductory words will not be entirely useless. Since TRIMINGHAM lacks an actual source chapter, I would first like to provide an overview of the genres of Islamic sources.

[1] I gave the first indications of the problem with this source in my unpublished lecture Muslim Historiography in Ethiopia at the 28th International Orientalist Congress in Canberra in 1971. A more detailed synopsis with a
PARET gave a very critical opinion on the historicity of the events described: Chronik.

who deal with Ethiopia and classify the Fath madinat Harar within this. This is followed by a description of the manuscripts on which our text is based. Next, it will be necessary to give a very brief outline of the history of Islam in southeastern Ethiopia, with reference to those of the longer-known documents to which we owe our particular knowledge, in order to show in this way the gap that we have left with the help of the Fath can hope to close. Following the text, translation and commentary, it will still be necessary to summarize the results obtained in the commentary.

3. The Islamic world outside Ethiopia showed little interest in the fate of the co-religionists on Ethiopian soil. News about the country can be found primarily in three literary genres.

4. First of all, the works in praise of the Abyssinians should be mentioned, which owe their existence primarily to the fact that the works written by the Meccans. The Prophet's urged comrades found refuge in Ethiopia and the Ethiopians thus did a good work for Islam. In a second respect, the good qualities of the Abyssinian slaves as co-sleepers were the reason for the writing of these books. The first surviving work of this type, which belongs to fadā'il literature, comes from the Hanbali theologian Ibn al-Gauzi (d. 597/1200) and is entitled Tanwir al-ġabaš fi fadl as-Sūdān wal-Habaš. It became the model for several similar writings from the 15th-17th centuries. Century, of which Muhammad b. 'Abdalbaqi al-Buhari's At-Tirāz al-manqūš fi mahāsin al-hubūš, written around 1583, may have become best known through the translation by MAX WEISWEILER 2. It is unnecessary to list all of these works, of which nine are known by title, here, since on the one hand this has already been done by GUSTAV FLÜGEL and more recently in great detail by GERNOT ROTTER, and on the other hand this type of literature is heavily riddled with legends and, as far as it goes provides no historical material at all, at most it deals with the first encounter between Islam and Ethiopia, which is also known elsewhere. Basically, these works are often less about the fada'il of the Abyssinians than that of the blacks per se. In this regard, they join the fahr work of Ǧāḥiẓ (d. 255/868) Fahr as-Sūdān 'alā l-Bīdān, which is all about the preference of blacks over whites.5

5. The second group of literature to which we owe some insight about Ethiopia are the Islamic geographers. However, they too prove themselves, at least in the early days, as quite uninformed and not very detailed. We find brief mentions of Ethiopia in al-Ya'qūbi (d. 284/897), Ibn Hauqal

2U d.T.: Colorful splendid garment: about the good qualities of the Abyssinians. T.1. Hanover 1924.

3 Some geographical and ethnographic manuscripts of Rafa'a in the University Library in Leipzig. In: Journal of the German Oriental Society 16, 1862, pp. 651-703, especially pp. 698-700.

4 The position of the Negro in Islamic-Arab society until the 18th century. Year hundred. Diss. phil. Bonn 1966, pp. 12-20.

5 See also ROTTER op. cit. pp. 10-11 on this and on two last similar works from the same time.

(wrote around 977 AD), al-Muqaddasi (wrote around 375/985), al-Idrisi (d. 560/1166) and Abū l-Fidā (d. 732/1331), who in his statements about Abyssinia is based on Ibn Sa'īd (d. 673/1274 or 685/1286). Only Ibn Fadlallah al-'Umari (d. 749/1349) gives in his Masalik al-abṣūr a longer account of the Islamic empires in southern Ethiopia in the first half of the 14th century, which we comment on in detail in a translation by GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES is present. His information is also of interest in connection with our Fath. The report by Ibn-Ba□□ū□a (d. 779/1377) of his stay with the Sultan of Mogadiscio is not much younger. Among the travelers is the messenger of the Zaydi Imām al-Muta-wakkil 'ala llah Abū l-Hasan b. Ahmad al-Hamī (d. 1071/1660), who visited the Ethiopian Emperor Fāsiādās (1632-67) in Gondar in 1057-9/1647-9. In the same century, Evliya Çelebi (d. 1095/1684) lived, whose information about Ethiopia was evaluated by ALESSIO BOMBACI. They are not based on autopsy, but probably on oral reports.

6. Arabic historiography, the third group of literature to be considered here, like geographical literature, only became interested in Ethiopia at a relatively later date. Only one small treatise is specifically dedicated to Islamic Ethiopian history, namely al-Maqrīzī's (d. 845/1442) al-Ilmām bi-ahbār man bi-ard al-Habaša min mulūk al-Islām. This work is largely dependent on Ibn Fadlallah al-'Umari in its description of the individual states, but goes beyond him in its specifically historical sections. 7. In addition to al-Maqrizi's book, we also find Ethiopia mentioned in passing in other historical works. Here is the continuation of the history of Egypt by al-Makin by the Copt al-Mufaddal b. Abi l-Fadā'il (wrote 1358), i.e. a non-Islamic source. Furthermore, the information given by Ibn Haldūn (d. 808/1406) and Ibn Taġribirdī (d. 874/1469) is of some interest. Additionally, some local stories mention Ethiopian events, like this

* For the historical significance of one of his notes, see CERULLI: Etiopia medievale, pp. 272-6.

7 The most recent edition of the report comes from MURAD KAMIL and T. Sirāl al-Habasha. Cairo 1958. The anonymous Tarih Habaša, which BROCKELMANN GAL 2nd p. 540 mentions, is the same travel report. According to the description in MAULAWI 'ABDALHAMID: Fihristi-i dasti-i kutub-i qalami-i Library-i mauqufa-i Hān Bahadur Hudābahā musammā bi-Miftah al-kunūz al-hafiya. 2. Patna 1922, p. 536, No. 2886: Mutadammin-i hawādiṣāt wa-waqiat-i muta'alliqa-i Habaša az sana-i 1021 tā sana-i 1054. Mūṣannif waqiat čašm did ki hangām-i safar-i Habaša mušāhada kanda būd one could assume that it was a different journey that took place a few years earlier. However, a letter from the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna, dated August 25, 1970 shows that manuscript number 2886 of Miftah is the same manuscript that appears in the Catalog of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore. Vol. 15. Calcutta [etc.] 1929, pp. 208-10.= No. 1115 was described again. The identification there shows that the manuscript contains al-Hamī's journey.

8 Evliyā Čelebi's journey to Abyssinia (1673). In: Annals, Oriental University Institute of Naples. N.S. 2. 1943. S. 259-75.

* Some important news from these three historians as well as the equally named al-Hazraǧi are also evaluated by CERULLI: Etiopia medievale. The after-

the history of the Rasulid dynasty in Yemen by Ibn Wanhas al-Hazraǧ (d. 812/14 19) and the account of the Ottoman conquest of Yemen by Ṣulbaddin Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nahrawāl [illegible] Ethiopia [illegible] by P. B. [illegible] Pasa [illegible] Aḥmad Rasid Pasa [illegible] 1891 name 12 events in Ethiopia. 13

8. As [illegible] concerned, there is only [illegible] work in [illegible] translated by RENÉ BASSET

9. [illegible] Harar [illegible] 1876. 14

[illegible] PA[illegible] is that we have it

T[illegible] Trans

[illegible] *The Portuguese.*

[illegible]

12 Tarih-i Yaman wa-San'a. Vol. 1. Istanbul 1291 especially pp. 288-91. 13

[illegible] Abyssinia in Turkish background. In: Review of Ethiopian studies. 3, 1943, pp.

[illegible] 14 Notes on the Harar Country. In [illegible]

[illegible]

This results in relative reliability [illegible]

[illegible]

article Imamat pp. 289-90

[illegible]

[illegible] work was acquired by me during a short stay in Hala [illegible] International Ethiopian Congress in 1966. At the time I was not aware that [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Amharic history p. 485

[illegible] KANE Translations p. 609 also took an Arabic template

[illegible] fragment of the Faith myself

[illegible]

[illegible] DELLA VIDA).

Microscience Arabic 1796 20[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

B [illegible] The blessed history of [illegible]

Galle S. 30, Anm. 5

[illegible]

[illegible]

Chintaul. The story can also be found in manuscripts A, pages 26b-27a (see below). B.

[illegible]

WAGNER: Chronology Note 45

2. B. 4a-8b: The Fath etc. Futuhāt madinat al-aulīyā. The author is known as Yahya b. Nasrallah stated.

3. Sheet 3a: List of 14 Qadis of Harar from 1197-1351 H. 1792-1932 3 AD.

[illegible]

LEV. DELLA VIDA

L. [illegible]

original."

The manuscript contains the following two texts:

1. [illegible] al-Ṣāih Wali Allah 'Umar ar-Rida al-ma'ruf bi-Abadir. An author is [illegible] be considered the author.

2. [illegible] incomplete.

H. manuscript in my possession. Exercise

[illegible]

[1] Galla S. 30, Anm. 5.

[2] A.a.O. „An unpublished history of Harar written originally apparently by Ibrāhīm Sharīf of Harar."

[illegible]

[illegible]

in these places, so it can be assumed that the pages were torn out between pagination [illegible]

[illegible]

The manuscript contains the following texts

1. [illegible]
2. Bl. 25a-27a: List of the Wakefield rulers, see above under L. 2, 3.
3. [illegible] vat. Arabo 1796
4. [illegible] MUHAMMAD MUHTAR [illegible] SET. 28 CER. ILLI 29 and TEDESCHI 30

A manuscript in my possession:

Exercise book from Mubarak Saeed bin Shahnan & [illegible]

There is also a red vertical line on the side. 34 sheets. According to the information [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

the manuscript on September 24, 1972.

The manuscript contains the following texts:

1. Bl. 1b-2b: Prayer.
2. [illegible] WAGNER: Genealogies p. 112.
3. [illegible]
4. Bl. [illegible]: The Faith [illegible] name [illegible]
5. Sheet 18b: Information about Abadir's children, see WAGNER: Genealogies pp. 106-07.
6. Bl. 17a-18b: List of the Walaśma [illegible], see above, L. 2.
7. Sheet 18b in the margin: Note on the founding of the state of Ausa [illegible] b. Muǧāhid's in Harar, cf. above §11.
8. [illegible] Sheet [illegible] variant of the story Nur b. Muǧāhid's. You [illegible] 6 [illegible]
11. Bl. 23b: King's Abadir's, vgl. WAGNER: Genealogy S. 102, Anm. 16.
12. Bl. 23b-24a: Note on the arrival of Abadir and the saints in Harar. The following is a list of Abādir's five brothers. The texts can also be found [illegible] cf. GAL I, S. 661; S II, S. 915.
14. Sheet 24b: The same text as on sheet 22b.

15. Bl. 2[illegible]4a [illegible] of Harar cf. WAGNER Chronology where this list is treated under the sign A.

[illegible] by CERULLI Fine.

Handwriting in my possession.

[illegible], 31 50 blank. Format. 16×21 Writing area 13x18

[illegible]

16. October 1972

The manuscript contains

1. Sheet 3a-b. Mulahadat as-sulh. cf. A. 16. The text is complete [illegible] of the end of the Fath.

1. Sheet 4a. Dates of the death of the Emir Hasan b. Ali and the succession [illegible] 1671), cf. CERULLI Emiri the genealogical table.

4. Bl. 4b-15b. Der Fath u.d.T. al-Qissat al-jihad wal-suliya futiha al-madinat Harar mit der Verfasserangabe Yahya b. Nasirsah.

5. Sheet 16a. Chronogram (1177) on the Emir Ahmad b. Abi Bakr 1169-97 H. 1755-1782; and comments about his building work, to which CERULLI Lingua pp. 51-53 can be compared.

6. Sheet [illegible]a. Note on the reception of A[illegible] Bakr b. [illegible] p. 43 [illegible] pp. 62-63 then jumps at the end of page 16b into the text of CERULLI's main tradition Document p. 53 Z. 15 and brings it to the end (page 18a line 13). After a few words of transition, fragments a and b of the Ausa Chronicle (cf. CERULLI Documenti p. [illegible] of the Ausa Chronicle are in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa, under the [illegible] September [illegible] 1972). Both were written by Abdalmuhaimin Abdannāṣir (on him see WAGNER Lingua pp. 270-71).

[illegible] the variant CERULLI Documenti p. 54, lines 13-16 and goes there

[illegible]

bundle 7 of the SCHLOBIES estate

9 Bl. 23a-23b: Story of the Emir Habbuba. cf. C. 1

10 Bl. 24a-29a: List of the rulers of Harar. The list is almost identical to that described under A. 15

11 Bl. 29b: Repetition of data on Hararin rulers

[illegible]

taken him had thrown, wrote

[illegible]

without a title or author's name

[illegible]

[illegible]

accessioned on June 9, 1970. In terms of the text, it is similar to my handwriting H. I have therefore refrained from including it in my variants

[illegible]

manuscript that was presented to me back then

[illegible]

why I didn't buy it

[illegible]

author as Yahya Nasrallah al-Harari

[illegible]

[illegible]

stated

31 For this work see WAGNER, Chronology pp. 186-89

32 Lingua p. 48

6. ROBECCHI-BRICCHETTI (Ifat) speaks of a Tanq-el-Harrar (Tarh al-Harar)

[illegible] Italian occupation of Ethiopia, cannot be the same recension of [illegible] of M) mention the Italians.

6. What follows is [illegible] in southern Ethiopia and the sources we have for his history [illegible] to make it easier for the reader [illegible] the information in the Kath and to recognize which gaps can be closed by the Fath.

7. The first fixed date for the history of Islam in southeastern Ethiopia is the [illegible] Arabic overview of the history of the end of the Muslim sultanate of the Mahzum [illegible]

34. On the other hand, Ahmad as-Sirat names this year as the first [illegible] at the beginning of the 10th century, I have lived. On the one hand, Ahmad [illegible] Islam in Ethiopia. On the other hand, he knew Habbuba as the eldest [illegible] to the Egyptian conquest, he moved Habbuba to the 9th century 35. We [illegible] Mahzum dynasty [illegible] Habbuba has nothing to do with [illegible] Jmar al-Hattab.

8. While the [illegible] Ahmad [illegible] Neighboring Muslim states took advantage of the [illegible] shake off the supremacy of the [illegible] family [illegible] Muslim princes [illegible] years of fighting [illegible] 1285 [illegible]

[illegible]

islamisme. Elle is batie sur

[illegible]

almost every night in great abundance.*

[illegible]

know the names of rulers. During this time, the state of Ifat must have taken advantage

[illegible]

37 Harar S. 50 [illegible]
38 Documents S. 40-51
39 Barkhadle pp. 77-8. For further manuscripts see §14 under L. 2

[illegible]

41 See the map in TRIMINGHAM, Islam in Ethiopia p. 64
42 Taqwim, Transl. REINAUD and GUYARD, Vol 2, 1, P. 229

[illegible]

translated, most recently in 1965 by HUNTINGFORD, Victories.

[illegible]

Amda Sayon was v[illegible] subjugated lifel again.

[illegible]

4. The Walaśma list mentions two Haccadoins, 1294/5-1301/2 and 1376-86, and one [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] mentioned casually by Ibn Taġribirdi.[51]

[illegible] of the Walaśma' dynasty declined [illegible]

[illegible] also be pointed out with TRIMINGHAM that Maqrizi Ilmām [illegible] Ruler's reign ran until 1415

[illegible] For the mention of Adar in the various sources and its situation, see TRIMINGHAM, Islam in Ethiopia p. 74, note 7

50 have S. 20

51 vgl. CERULLI, Medieval Ethiopia S. 286-88

[illegible] in Italian Africa, S. 1933, S. 57-112, besonders S. 80-99 and ENRICO CERULLI, The defeat of Sultan [illegible] 1934, S. 105-09

Bakr b. Muhammad b. Al-Naqaddin moved the capital to Harar, where he [illegible]

[illegible]

who served him as a puppet king. 54

[illegible]

[illegible]

published Amharic text

[illegible]

54 See TRIMINGHAM: Islam in Ethiopia pp. 79-84 and CERULLI: Lingua pp. 27-28.
55 See CERULLI: Documents S. 51-52.
56 W. E. CONZELMANN: Chronique de Galawdewos, Paris

[illegible]

Berlin 1907.

5 Jlughâno Zafar 2, S. 585.
59 Cf. CERULLI: Document pp. 52-70 and above the descriptions of the manuscripts.

H. 3. A. 9. 10. B. 7. 8. 60.

Amharic History

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

passed through

[illegible]

We know the next three emirs from one

[illegible]

pp. 95-97 and CERULLI, Lingua pp. 37-39

[illegible] Documents 9, 74

[illegible]

65 Documents 5, 80-8

[illegible]

p. 28, 67 Documents p. 92-94

[illegible]

rured from 1021-41, 76=3-52

[illegible]

and then Ahmad b. al Wazir Abrām for ten days.

[illegible]

meantime. On the basis of these lists, BASSET 3 therefore attempted in 1914 to [illegible] discovered four more lists over time, he undertook that work again in 1942 and was able [illegible]

[illegible]

Under his successor Muhammad b. Ali (1966-75), the emirate came under the interests [illegible]

[illegible]

59 Emin S. 4-6; 10 Schedule P. 28, 71 Vol. 6, 59, 12
Resolution S. 512-15; 13 Chronologie; 14 CER-JLJ; Emin S. 9-18

[illegible]

between Emir Abdarrahman (1821-25) and his
Brother Abdalkarim

TEXT, TRANSLATION, VARIANTS AND COMMENT

INTRODUCTION

[illegible]

[illegible]

a middle position that will be discussed later

3. Within Review I, two groups can be formed again [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

incomplete as we have, so that it can be assumed that the text was subsequently omitted.

[illegible]

that from the beginning the tribes

paid tribute to the saints of Harar

[illegible]

[illegible] says. The writer of C must also have had the meaningless infinitive ... because he [illegible]

[illegible] Ilalam Dassō), although the place name Ilalam Dassō, which is probably not very [illegible]

3. In XXI, V has two more sentences than C.

4. In XXI [illegible] has Afaizaru [illegible] while C inserts an [illegible] wa-l-Afaizaru wa-bn Arab lağ. However, it can be seen from V how C came [illegible]

[illegible] its template

5. In XXXIV there is a superfluous wa- in the sentence al-bkad hiya wa-mata una. The land [illegible]

[illegible] the same section [illegible] Mariya [illegible] prerefere [illegible] personal [illegible]

[illegible]

Reviewer

8. [illegible] reference [illegible] Madinat al-A[illegible] Conversely in Section

[illegible]

[illegible] template.

[illegible] AH [illegible]

[illegible] where A and H [illegible] A [illegible]

[illegible] has one more sentence than C in two places. In AH these sentences are missing as in C. In XXI [illegible]

[illegible] XXX [illegible] A [illegible]

[illegible] A [illegible]

[illegible] A agrees [illegible]

and A agree, while u shortens and H offers an even shorter text. In VIII, V and A both [illegible]

13. One must assume that A and H had a common template that went back to C, but [illegible] copied this unseen and perhaps enlarged it. A appears to have had a second, V-shaped [illegible] complete y [illegible]

C

A

H

[illegible]

secondary Bissidimo

[illegible]

Jnt. it is put down in writing again

[illegible]

[illegible]

8. The findings could in a way lead to the assumption that B is an [illegible] undergone the complete change in wording. That is not the case. In two places it is clear that B had available Recension I, which he expanded with insertions from Recension [illegible] because there are obviously duplicates in these places. In Section I, B first brings the introduction of A and then follows the introduction of L. In XX.X the [illegible] Karni. B now combines the names of A and L to form the double name Karni Karmud.

[illegible] B depends on one of the known [illegible]

[illegible] therefore goes back to L.

[illegible] common precursor of AH

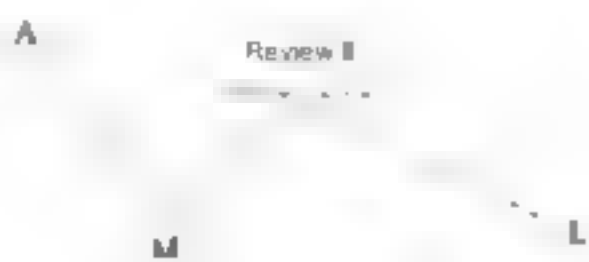
23. The incomplete manuscript M only includes the first twelve sections. In many sections it shows the [illegible] whether it depends on the CVAH [illegible] the LB [illegible] M has two longer pieces that are missing [illegible] the first of which allows a hadit that is also [illegible] appear [illegible] is an endingy for the names of some [illegible] measures commonly used [illegible] have preserved a section here that was lost in all other existing manuscripts.

24. [illegible] M [illegible] the dates, and which is by no means independent of the other two [illegible] especially with A.

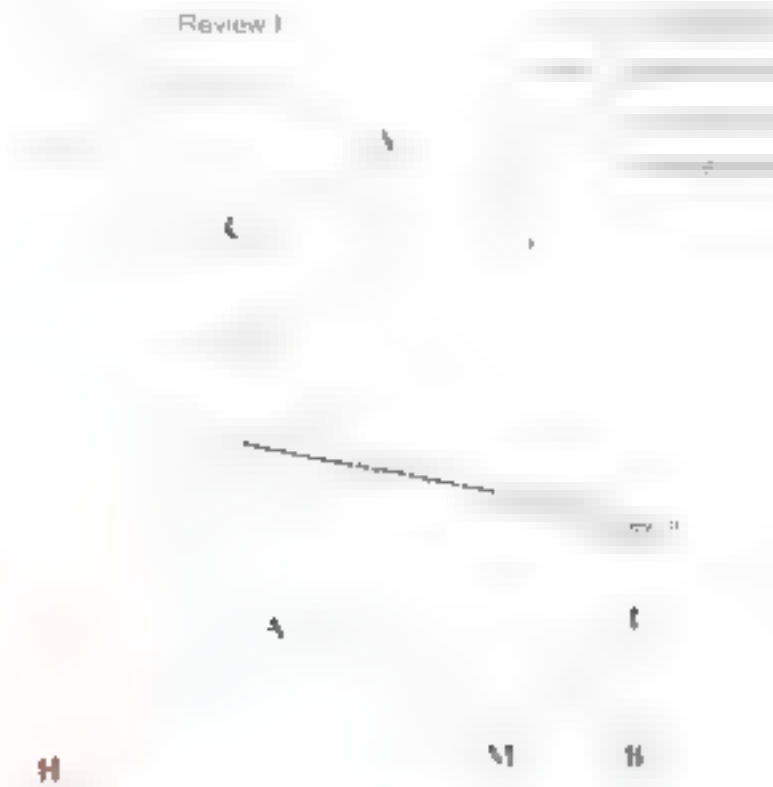
25. [illegible] with LB are in Section [illegible] like LB M [illegible] Only the incorrect spelling of Bayazid al-Bistami into Abu Yazid [illegible] and not by "Umar ar-Rida as in CVAH.

26. [illegible] agreement with [illegible] A [illegible] Section VI the Qur'anic verse in VA is [illegible] which M [illegible] Section VII only A and M note that Umar ar-Rida was dressed in silk when he ascended the pulpit.

27. [illegible] B [illegible] was of the CVAH type [illegible] the CVAH type the template may have been particularly [illegible] A [illegible] the [illegible] was [illegible] Section VIII.



28 The overall stemma is therefore as follows



the nples

Hagar

from

ned to balance

INTRODUCTION

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the poor, despicable servant who confessed to sin and transgression, [illegible] the late Allah's [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] the witty excerpt. He is praised!

[illegible]

Otherwise no significant deviations.[1]

[illegible] abbreviate quite as much as A. The title here is: Fath madinat [illegible] prose. The title version makes an original impression.

[illegible] combined two [illegible] individually

[illegible]

present. However, the combination must have come about in a similar way to B

whose templates we both have

[illegible]

mentioned below

[illegible]

instead of the date 15 Ramadan 512, B has 15 Ramadan 332, a date repeated later in the [illegible]

M omits any introduction

[illegible]

s named in it

[illegible]

Note 3: The alleged hadit is missing from WENSINCK.

[illegible]

[1] See introduction § 15

[2] See note 4

II. ARRIVAL OF THE SAINTS FROM MECCA

[illegible]

The [illegible] generation and

after [illegible] the number [illegible] hundred and five. When Sheikh Omar

Al-Bichate [illegible] Omar

bin Omar Qutb Al-Din Abu Yazid Al-Bistami [illegible] named Taylor Habib Al-Najar Ismail

Al-Jabarti and Sheikh Ismail Al-Dinawari Taqa [illegible] Omar

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and twelve in the year [illegible] AH

TRANSLATION

[illegible]

[illegible] Arab [illegible] Al-Akwal [illegible] "Omar surnamed Qutbuddin [illegible] May [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

V page 2a no details towards C

n A this section is completely missing

[illegible] then given the same list of names as in V [illegible] but then only lists eight names.

[illegible] There is said [illegible] Mecca and [illegible] Bistami [illegible] Tafor

[illegible] Friday, 15th Ramadan 890

[illegible] never means ć like in Persian

[illegible]

* See also PARET, Chronicle p. 439 u. 441
* vgl. CERULLI: Islam S. 35
* Futuh, Transl. p. 195, 207, 368, 370, 373, 376, 377, 365
* [illegible] S. 75
* S. 76
* Futuh, Transl. p. 195, 207, 377
* Geography S. 309
* See the detailed discussion in CERULLI: Lingua pp. 6-14.

[illegible]

the old name for Harar

[illegible]

have been alive in 1251

[illegible]

of the tradition of the Fath

[illegible]

[illegible] See PARET Chronicle p. 430, WAGNER List p. 288

[illegible] WAGNER Chronology S. 200-201

[illegible] See WAGNER List p. 273

[illegible]

13 **Paret Chronik S. 436-37**

[illegible]

to his genealogy WAGNER Genealogies pp. 98-111

[illegible] Cf. PAULITSCHKE Harar S. 215

[illegible]

18 CERULLI Western Ethiopia S. 129-30

[illegible]

of the Coptic name Apater (from the Greek Antipater), commonly used among Christians. CERULLI sees the addition of the Muslim name Umar as [illegible] thesis, which will be explained [illegible] that Fath has a historical core and that Abadir [illegible] is a historical figure. In support of my thesis, I could point out that the name Abadir is not uncommon among the Muslims of Harar. [illegible] Muslims only received their name in memory of the great Abadir. It is more likely that the historical Umar ar Riba was only subsequently [illegible] be supported by the fact that in the majority of Fath manuscripts the name Abadir does not appear at all. In those that do mention it, it only appears at the beginning of the text, so [illegible] old.

Note 9. Qutbaddin Umar b. Umar 21 is a personality known from [illegible] father. 22 The name there takes the form Umar Au Hotub. The Harar [illegible] that was widespread throughout the former British Somaliland and the Ogaden. Furthermore, PIRONE 27 mentions his father Fathe Umar [illegible] Yemen to be his successor in the spread of Islam among the Somalis [illegible] Cutub [illegible] entire Ogaden as the current area of activity of the Sich group of the Au Cutub.

The following sources are available to us for the dating of Qutbaddin:

1. The Fath. It makes Qutbaddin a contemporary of Abadir. The Fath says nothing about the father-son relationship with Abadir. 2.

The genealogies. They confirm the Fath's statements on the dating of Abadir [illegible]

19 *Lingua* S. 49.
20 See WAGNER, List p. 282.
21 PARET: *Chronik* S. 435.
22 Genealogies pp. 102-04.
23 LESLAU: *Dictionary* S. 17.
24 For Somali see also ABRAHAM: Dictionary p. 17.
25 *Footsteps*, 1, S. 193.
26 Legends S. 123.
27 See WAGNER, Genealogies p. 111.

[illegible]

"ten generations ago" only means a very early time.

[illegible]

arrived [illegible] A[illegible]

[illegible]

the 13th century (spoak). On the other hand, the information is of course too vague

[illegible]

arguments

[illegible]

[illegible] two

[illegible]

and the

dating of the Fathers to be regarded as correct.

[illegible]

[illegible]

(*) See note 16 below.

30 PIRONE, Legends S. 123.

(*) LEWIS, Bark Jade S. 76-77.

[illegible]

11th of Rabi I of each year

[illegible]

and al-Shibli 39

[illegible]

British Somaliland, two miles from the Hadaftimo-Burao road

[illegible]

32 For a summary of him, see the article Abu Yazid al-Bis Lāmi in E. I. pp. 162-63 (H. RITTER).

33 TRIMINGHAM, Islam in Ethiopia S. 239-40.

34 Cf. E/2 s.v. Abd al-Kadir al-Dijlāni (W. BRAUNE).

35 WAGNER, List p. 273 and WAGNER, Songs of the Saints p. 31 and

36 WAGNER, List p. 273; WAGNER, Songs of the Saints p. 31.

37 PARET, Chronicle p. 429; WAGNER, List p. 275; WAGNER, Songs of the Saints p. 32.

38 WAGNER, List p. 284; WAGNER, Songs of the Saints p. 35 and 38.

39 WAGNER, List S. 291; WAGNER, Heiligenlieder S. 44, 46.

PARET, Chronicle S. 431; EI s.v. Habib al-Nadjdjar (G. VAJDA).

See PARET, Chronicle p. 432.

[illegible]

[illegible] However, she [illegible] This consequence also [illegible] 44 also speaks of Gabarti [illegible] David. But this neither [illegible] the same time as PAULITSCHKE also correctly speaks of [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] between [illegible] and 4 [illegible] separates the two events by [illegible] years. The [illegible]

44 articles p. 8. 45 travel p. 41

[illegible] Girl Cairo 1945

[illegible] at HAGGENMACHER

48 Problems. 49 Galla S. 32-33. 50 Legends S. 122

51 Travel p. 41

[illegible] certainly be rejected.)

[illegible]

holy personalities

right to do Abadir's [illegible] have not been

[illegible]

52 articles p. 6

[illegible] Vgl. Lewis, *Aspects* S. 43

54 See WAGNER, Genealogies pp. 111-12

[illegible] Paret, *Chronik* S. 429

[illegible]

57 See PARET, Chronicle p. 437

[illegible] Vgl. Wagner, *Documents* S. 213

59 New Documents S. 396-9

[illegible]

Abadir's 65 and would fit well into the Fath chronologically.

[illegible]

Mogadiscio and the ism does not match either.

[illegible]

Afaizaru

[illegible]

60 WAGNER, Lis. pp. 272-73; WAGNER, Songs of the Saints p. 31.
61 Guide S. 4.
62 See WAGNER, Heiligenkreder p. 39.
63 Hone S. 26.
64 ALBERTIS, Gila S. 70; Guide S. 44*.
65 WAGNER, Genealogies p. 104.
66 For him see CERULLI, Note p. 13-64.
** PARET, Chronol. S. 435.
68 See the compilation in PARET, Chronicle pp. 433-34.
** [illegible]

existence," shows al-Akwān is the plural of kaen and not ilwan. The error, which is also found in manuscript V in the text of section VII, is explained by the fact that in Harar there is a free variant of k. cf. LESLAU, Dictionary p. 6. On the veneration of the saint, cf. also [illegible]

Somalia S. 420-29; CRUTTENDEN, Memoir S. 61-62.
* WAGNER, Chronologie S. 200.

[illegible]

our disposal in addition to the Fath itself.

[illegible] the Isaq Confederation in the 12th-13th centuries, century at [illegible]

[illegible]

confirms the previous results.

[illegible]

data in the Fath.

[illegible]

it of me would be 1076-1185 AD. So definitely not a date [illegible]

[illegible]

** *Proples* S. 54-55 u. 148; *Burkhalle* S. 79-81.
** Lewis: *Sultan* 2, S. 151; Lewis: *Gadaburst* S. 135.
[illegible]

** *Islam in Ethiopia* S. 251.
** *Galla* S. 30; *Proples* S. 54, Anm. 49; *Burkhalle* S. 77-79.
* See already WAGNER, Genealogies p. 115.

[illegible] ancestral lines [illegible] and Yūsuf al-Akwān

[illegible] Somalia, see also note 78

[illegible]

[illegible] 88

The strange name form 'Umardin or 'Umaraddin is too [illegible] from the Hiǧāz

[illegible]

#3 LEWIS: Barkhadle S. 81, Anm. 18

4 See PARET: Chronicle p. 436

WAGNER: Genealogies pp. 102-05

WAGNER: Chronology Tab. 1

WAGNER: List S. 260

COHEN: New Studies S. 375-427

[illegible]

[illegible]

writing, however, he remembered that he wanted to use other data. He therefore improved the hundredth before he wrote the tenth.

[illegible] AD and 412 H. (1021 AD) by writing one above and one below the word sana. B already [illegible]

of Ramadan 412 is exactly the same

90 COLUCCI, Principles S. 106; PUCCIONI, Populations S. 55-56; LEWIS, Peoples S.

[illegible]

to the initial number 332

[illegible]

be dependent on the ruler lists

[illegible]

nd vidual corrections

[illegible]

draws special attention to the differences that exist between him and [illegible]

[illegible]

92 WAGNER, Chronology 5, 200

the events correctly

point of view of naming

cons. At the time of the fighting between Harar and the Portuguese Pereira mentioned [illegible]

[illegible] wise were in Somalia and tried to extend it to Harar [illegible]

considerations led to it [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] For the dating of this change of power, see [illegible] Somalia I, pp. 14-19 [illegible] for Basu[illegible]a Tukta, Transl. [illegible] 86-2, p. [illegible]

[illegible] *Shewa'i Falashitanus* S. 242

[illegible] *Medieval History* II. 66-70

[illegible] 4, 19

[illegible] Harar area [illegible] are known, both of which are undated. [illegible] compares the [illegible] inscriptions from the years 1201 AD and from the 14th and 15th centuries. However, one [illegible] refute it either.

III. JOINT FRIDAY SERVICE

TEXT (BL. 4a-b)

[illegible] Omar al-Rida [illegible] Qudb al-Din [illegible] Sheikh Omar [illegible] Qudb al-Din. Then he motioned for Sheikh Omar al-Rida to come [illegible]

TRANSLATION

[illegible] them at the Friday prayer before 19

10 Steles of Harar S. 109-41, 10

SCHNEIDER, Steles of Qurha S. 109-110

v page 2b is shortened compared to C, see preliminary remark §5

In A page 6b the first as [illegible] as an essential variant. This means that one [illegible] Bayazid al-Bistāmī who [illegible] version is certainly the more original.

[illegible] 'Umar ar-Ridā as the prayer leader.

L p. 1 differs greatly from the previously mentioned manuscripts. First of all, the opening sentence that people went to the mosque for Friday prayers is missing. Then it is only said that 'Umar'in called for prayer. Bayazid preached and 'Umar ar-Ridā led the prayer. The previous references to Subhaddin [illegible] 'Umar ar-Ridā are missing. Leads the sentence at the end. Then the [illegible] place, i.e. the mosque." B (page 5a) no other details compared to L.

M presents the introductory sentence, greatly abbreviating the call to prayer. [illegible] only said that 'Umar ar-Ridā led the prayer. The [illegible] B is missing.

COMMENT

Note 19. By explicitly mentioning that 'Umar ar-Ridā led the prayer, the Faith [illegible] Harāf. 'Umar ar-Ridā was an imām, not a Sultān.[1]

IV PREHISTORY OF THE COUNTRY

TEXT (BL 4b)

[illegible] except these groups. They asked each other: Where are the governors, the princes, and the sheikhs? And we did not see anyone except the poor and the poor, so we must ask them that. And they all left. We are [illegible] The [illegible] Where are the governors, the princes, and the sheikhs? They said: in this land soon, and we asked: Of those who were before us in this place, some of them said that there was in this place the Jain tribe, and some of them said that we heard that in the beginning of time and time, the Harāf tribe lived in this spot, and they were dispersed by many [illegible] and [illegible] twenty-five years ago

[1] Vgl. WAGNER, Leviticus.

We have [illegible] knowledge [illegible] in our homes after the afternoon for fear of the large number of beasts and lions and the disperson of the crowds [illegible] after that.

TRANSLATION

A [illegible]

VARIANTS

For the reduction in V (page 2b) see preliminary remark §5.

A (pages 3b-4a) no details towards V.

[illegible] heard that no one should go out.

[illegible]

would have.

[illegible] fed from the severe diseases and the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

50 km southwest of Zaila

[illegible]

region

[illegible]

and East Ourage are the remains today

13 Ethnography 1, S. 43

13 Name for Adal and the Hararin area, see note 67

Men came to him and brought him [illegible] the holy man had stated. When they returned to the land, God removed the [illegible] from them. The country and the servants of God recovered. The sky was [illegible] with rain, their udders gave their milk and their [illegible] grow. [illegible] Salih Abadir, whose father is Qutbaddin Umar, and others from the Poles (of religion). They say they were twelve. Happily ever after."

Although [illegible] Abadir had a [illegible] shows a certain correspondence with the [illegible] of Adam Salih and Ahmad Abdarrahman in that they assume three reigns for Abadir, one of [illegible] before Abadir [illegible]

Another legend was told to me orally. Afterwards, through his [illegible] Abadir [illegible] and habitable again.

V MEETING OF THE TRIBES

TEXT (BL 4b)

When [illegible] other, and [illegible] Mashhad Sharif Sheikh, then everyone who heard of the arrival of those people came [illegible] At that time, all the tribes shended [illegible] date from all sides, and each one of the tribes came [illegible] with [illegible] in their hands gifts and antiquities of camels [illegible] and twenty camels and two hundred and twenty-five [illegible] and five hundred heads of sheep and rams, and they continued to eat and drink for fifteen days.

TRANSLATION

[illegible] They [illegible] Then the [illegible] within three months. So all the tribes from all directions were [illegible]

VARIANTS

V (page 2b) is significantly reduced compared to C. The beginning reads: "Then Bayazid [illegible] about the banquet, see preliminary remark §5.

A (page 4a) no details towards V.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Arabia

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] outside the wall of Harar at the new Christian market in front of the Shoah Gate. In [illegible]

[illegible] ("ready for peace")

VI. SERMON OF BAYAZID AL-BISTĀMĪ

TEXT (BL. 4b)

[illegible]

Al-Bistāmī and Shaikh Umar Al-Rida delivered a sermon and led Friday prayers with them in a hospitality

- WAGNER, List S. 279-8.
- WAGNER, Sacred Songs p. 33. See also PARET, Chronicle p. 434.
- **Paret, Chronik S. 441**
- [illegible]

Note 60

[illegible]

that man together on the Friday that follows the after noon prayer [illegible]

[illegible]

After he [illegible] on Friday Bayazid al-Bistami called [illegible] then [illegible] worthy [illegible] you [illegible]

[illegible]

make [illegible]

A page 4a no details towards V [illegible]

Sahl Umar al-Hudaa read out the Friday sermon and prayed to the people before [illegible] Abu Yazid al-Bistami [illegible] the people. At the end of his sermon he said [illegible] make [illegible] when your wife [illegible] divorce one from each [illegible] divorce) with!"

[illegible] Friday [illegible]

[illegible] prayer. [illegible]

[illegible] that each tribe should elect a ra'is to lead it, i.e. a secular ruler.

B (page 5b) no details towards L.

[illegible] This is shown by some formulations that do not otherwise occur.

[illegible]

Note 5. [illegible]

VII. ELECTION OF THE SAINTS

TEXT (BL. 4b-5a)

[illegible] chose Sheikh Othman and Ou Wafah. The Somali tribe chose Muhyiddin Yusuf al-Akwan and [illegible] when the assembly of [illegible] completed. [illegible]

Knowledge we will seek. They said: "We have chosen the great Sheikh Omar al-Rida.

TRANSLATION

[illegible] those he had chosen. The Note 2 [illegible] he had the Sharb [illegible] and Au Wafie elected the Somali [illegible] Muhyiddin [illegible] Akwan [illegible] had [illegible] completed. [illegible] all [illegible] present [illegible] entirely [illegible] Imam [illegible] said [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the name of Yusuf al-Akwa [illegible] عمر [illegible] ج

[illegible] عال [illegible]

[illegible] 'Umar ar-Rida or Qutbaddin 'Umar

[illegible] see C) and Qutbaddin 'Umar (so VAH

[illegible] with what you say." The reference is unclear

COMMENT

Note 2[illegible] translate the [illegible] as if [illegible]

[illegible] Egyptian rule [illegible] tribe, which is divided into several

[1] See the map at HUNTINGFORD, Gaila p. 15

[2] Compare the boundaries of the area on Map 1 in AMER, Maps

[illegible]

tribe, although they speak their own language [illegible]

[illegible]

later seats [illegible]

[illegible]

HUNTINGFORD 12 and LEVI IS 13 now assume, on the basis of these and other [illegible]

[illegible]

p 75-76 and TRIMINGHAM: Islam in Ethiopia p. 206

[illegible] TRIMINGHAM: Islam in Ethiopia S. 206; HUNTINGFORD: Galla S. 15

5 See z.B. EF s.v. Galla

[illegible]

is of less interest here

[illegible] Populations.

[illegible]

[illegible] Legends

10 PAULITSCHKE: Hikes pp. 172-73

[illegible] *Organisation* S. 73

[illegible]

[illegible]

heart of Ethiopia

[illegible] century, was once again significantly affected. In any case, the theory allows us to expect [illegible]

[illegible]

well-known historical Galla storm. 16

[illegible]

his burial place

Saint also called Hordohun Šaih 'Utman

[illegible]

See note 28

Harar S. 93

[illegible]

of Harar before 1500 is not impossible. See

WAGNER: List p. 282

[illegible]

Note 24. Saint Au Wafle is mentioned as Sheikh Hafiz by ROBECCHI [illegible] determined about the time of the Au Wafle.

[illegible]

[illegible] have to start. There [illegible]

8 See also introduction § 32.
9 Tomingham, Islam in Ethiopia S. 95–96.
10 *Somalia* S. 429.
21 See note 27.

[illegible] the President of Somalia, Ziyād Barre.
22 Hunt, *Survey* S. 15.

25 On Au Buba see note 90.
26 *Futūh*, Trad. S. 118.

Somalia, which [illegible]

[illegible]

He would then have [illegible] Dimarian Hidalgo [illegible]

He no longer plays any role in the Fath

Note 31. The Ala, like the Nole, are a Galla tribe of the Barentu group that lives south

and southwest of Harar. 28

Note 32. The Argobba are a people who speak [illegible] Semitic language [illegible] 2000 people of this group live in the villages of Aliyo, Amba, Gana [illegible] [illegible] their language in favour of Galla [illegible] [illegible] Gurage of the Selti-Wolane group 34

[illegible]

[illegible] *Towns.*

[illegible]

29 For their language see LESLAU, Description

[illegible] HARRIS, *Highlands* I, S. 316

[illegible] *Observations* S. 149

32 HAMMERSCHMIDT, Ethiopia p. 24

33 New Studies S. 375-427

[illegible] with his information "similar to Harari" and LESLAU with his classification as Selti could be right. [illegible] be in southeast Ethiopia

[illegible] NEUMANN, *From the Somali Coast* S. 374

COHEN [illegible] [illegible] no more space.

[illegible] note 17. The latter would be more likely since, according to COHEN, Mme DE [illegible] [illegible] and to accept an anachronism in the Fath. The possibility, although not very [illegible] of the Sultan of Aqabba, Ataizaru, at the beginning of the 17th century speaks in favor of this solution, which will be discussed in the following note. The Fath would then have predated the Ataizaru and the Aqabba conquest by 450-500 years and included it in the full conquest of [illegible] Muslims in the Harar area under Umar al-Rida. Note [illegible] Al-Hadj.

Ataizaru, whom even I cannot identify in other sources, is mentioned many times in the Fath in section XXV [illegible] with a long genealogy, al-Hagg Ataizaru b. Arab [illegible] Yahya b. Abu Bakr [illegible] Sultan [illegible] was unable to identify the Sultan Izzaddin. The Islamic history of Ethiopia knows two Izzaddin, namely the [illegible] of the Imam Aurah of Ansa. He fell on September 7, 1621 in the Kauff against Galla and thus achieved martyrdom. CERULLI, 39 identifies with this Izzaddin the Harari saint Ali [illegible] Ali Ahmad Idin whose grave is venerated in the cemetery in front of the Zalla Gate. 40 Secondly, one of the ten was called

[illegible] Studies S. 360, Anm. 1.
37 Harar pp. 209 and 299-301.
[illegible] PARET: *Chronik* S. 428.
[illegible] *Lingua* S. 51.
See also CERULLI, Documenti p. 9 and WAGNER, List p. [illegible] 8-79.

[illegible]

therefore could hardly have held the title of sultan.

[illegible]

forces and killed his follower 'Uthmān b. Yasin.

[illegible]

conquest in the 13th century.

42 See note 12.

43 See note 32.

44 Futuh, Trans. p. 21.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

by his son. That would be necessary

[illegible]

rule to his son.

This sentence can also be found, with some distortions, in A.

According to this reconstruction, I used VAH in the translation Qutbaddin 'Umar installed.

VIII. SERMONS AFTER THE ELECTION

TEXT (BL, 5a)

And then the aforementioned Omar appeared on the pulpit with his sword drawn and said: 'O people, God Almighty said: We created you from a male and a female and made you into peoples and tribes so that you may know each other [illegible]

you reap the crops and bring back their fruits? They said: Yes. Do you water every day with fair certainty?

They said: Yes. Are you in the right? The cows, the sheep, and the camels graze and then milk their milk and come to

water. Then: Said: Yes. Do you [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible]? They said: Yes, and the

[illegible] he gave him the merchant in Sheer. Omar [illegible] Abbas [illegible] said: And the [illegible] is the most [illegible]

[illegible] have good [illegible] for you to [illegible] and the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] every, my [illegible]

you from Wikisource. Then he said: the Prophet [illegible] and [illegible] to your [illegible] said: May [illegible] and [illegible] him and

[illegible] him peace. May God keep the servers as long as the servers keep his [illegible] upon the [illegible]. Shaikh Omar Al-Rida

said: Enough with good manners, enough with good [illegible], enough with eating and drinking. And

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] Prophet: if he is poor, God will make him [illegible] and [illegible] privately to him into wealth and provide for him in a way that will not be charged to him (in the Hereafter) * 40

[illegible]

[illegible] to V

[illegible] note 34. It can also be traced back to the same original as C. on one essentially

[illegible]

[illegible] of deliveries to Harar

[illegible] opinion of them in this world and the hereafter [illegible] They are also the [illegible] few days, people from [illegible] Ridâ in Wad Sinan Mashad [illegible] Here [illegible] tons (anan) remain.

[illegible] Abadir and sukudā (?) 'Ali Hamdun

COMMENT

Note 39. [illegible]

[illegible] Muhammad: Qu'an. Transl. PARET, p. 432

Note [illegible] LESLAU [illegible] the pronunciation of Arabic, d by the Harannes

[illegible]

Note 40. Harar always [illegible] over the [illegible] the time of Abādir and thus as being religiously sanctioned

IX. MEETING IN AFARDABBA

TEXT (BL. 5a)

[illegible] him and said to him: "Where are you going, my guarantee?" Sheikh Omar Al-Rida said: "I hear a voice

† CERULLI, Language S. 54

* Vgl. LESLAU, Dictionary S. 154

Z.B. CERULLA, Documents S. 56-5

From a distance, it does not resemble the voice of an elephant, nor does it resemble the voice of a camel, while [illegible] but rather [illegible] like an iron cage mounted [illegible] and [illegible] and we do not know [illegible] about religions and faith.

TRANSLATION

After [illegible] Afardabba [illegible]

[illegible]

V (pages 3b-4a) no details towards C

[illegible] Question about faith is missing.

[illegible]

[illegible] choice of words that are reminiscent of the other manuscripts.

[illegible] Those groups rise on him [illegible] as part of Afaizaru's description.

[illegible] about it)." No response from the disbelievers is reported

[illegible]

Anni [illegible] Afardabba [illegible] Harar near Argobba [illegible] Harranno type.*

[illegible] who gained the [illegible] Ahmad Sayyid [illegible] here.

[illegible] spelling.

[illegible]

creates factual difficulties.

[illegible] However [illegible] Harar [illegible] May [illegible] Sahara Nasr [illegible] May [illegible] covered [illegible] At [illegible] p.m. they reached Harar, where there was [illegible]

[illegible]

* Neir Harar S. 215.

[illegible] and HUNTINGFORD: Victorias p. 77.

* [illegible]

* [illegible]

[illegible] Ababa railway is a French company [illegible] hospital, alternative quarters for the French soldiers from Djibouti for the hot season and a French consulate [illegible] still bear witness to the French [illegible] today. However, the French never [illegible] vehicles and as is also true for the Italians [illegible] unresolved [illegible] here railway [illegible]

Likewise, the religious contrast [illegible] which anachronistic ingredients continue to entwine.

X. DEFEAT OF 'UMAR AR-RIDA'S IN WAD BARAHSAR AND VICTORY OF QUTBADDIN 'UMAR'S

TEXT (BL. 5a)

After two days he [illegible] had seen, and then Sheikh 'Umar Al-Rida announced [illegible] people left

To Wadi Balah Sir, they fought, and were saved in a fierce fight, and the cursed Kamiyah was victorious.

He entered, unawares of the Muslims, on the third day of sunset, on the fourteenth of the first month of Gaa

in the year 619, six hundred and nineteen of the Prophet's Hijra. It is better for those who emigrated

[illegible]

cursed one fled to the hot mountain.

TRANSLATION

[illegible]

VARIANTS

V (page 4a) reads Barahsan instead of Balahsan, otherwise no debate towards C.

[illegible]

6 9 [illegible]

[illegible]

mentioned

[illegible]

valley [illegible] says), to Mount Erer Gobaya."

[illegible]

by [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

better to use port

[1] Lingua pp. 6-14, see also note 5 here.
[2] *Lingua* [illegible] 1
[3] See LESLAU: Dictionary s.v. balah (p. 41), barah (p. 45) and sān (p. 142)

[illegible] Persian. A [illegible] of the languages spoken in the Horn of [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] called Mahrawal.

[illegible]

[illegible] Kurnl fled from Harar to their valley.*

[illegible]

[illegible] In any case, localization is impossible.

XI. FIGHT WITH THE GENTILES

TEXT (BL. 5a)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

After a few days [illegible] war against the [illegible] Then the [illegible] leader

* See also PARET, Chronicle p. 432.
* LESLAU, Dictionary S. 67.
* Vgl. LESLAU, Verb S. 27.

[illegible] at the beginning of [illegible] day at the beginning of the honored Ramadan of the said year, and they gave themselves up to war.

52. [illegible] Of the tribe of the heathen only the alive who fled.

[illegible]

V. page 4a: no details towards C.

A [illegible] otherwise no details towards VC.

[illegible] as mistaken at the second mention. Otherwise no details towards V. A [illegible]

[illegible] choice of words.

[illegible] no details towards L.

M [illegible] went to hell. What a bad place to stay!"

[illegible]

[illegible] referred to as Magus by the Muslims [illegible] Persian [illegible] the Persians [illegible] How [illegible] slow transition effected in them from Magus via Nasrani to Bertugis [illegible] the [illegible] from [illegible]

[illegible]

Case: Note 52. The translation follows V, which here has the system.

XII. SIEG ON THE DOOR

TEXT (BL. 5a-b)

As for our guardians, Sheikh Omar Al-Rida, he was absent for two months, and they entered with Bashir Al-Hafi, may God be pleased with him, and when he told him the story of the accursed one, he ordered the end [illegible]

[illegible] went out to fight for the sake of God to the end [illegible] Ave-Dyer, and then met in the village of Ave-Dyer, and fought together

And the lighting, and the victory of God Almighty, Imam Omar Deen, demolished their houses, cut off their heads, and hung them on trees. Then Imam Omar Deen returned, supposing and victorious, with applause and glorification along with spoils that could not be counted, returned, or counted in number.

TRANSLATION

[illegible] irrefutable and incalculable in number.

[illegible]

v (pages 4a-b) and A, page 5b, no details, towards C.

[illegible] then he ordered.* Otherwise no details compared.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] here the singular.

[illegible] namely Bišr al-Hafi (d. ca. 266 H. = [illegible]

Note 55. Since the manuscripts have [illegible] one must [illegible]

Note 56. When using the fourth stem [illegible] the dialects in the sense of the first [illegible]

See PARET, Chronicle p. 429.

[illegible] Bišr al-Hafi

WAGNER, List S. 275-76.

See CERULLI, Language 5, 135-36.

Manuscripts also occasionally [illegible] and [illegible] variants 5

Note 57. According to [illegible]

XIII. RIDE OF THE LION AND VICTORY AT BABILE

TEXT (BL. 5b)

[illegible] back of the great lion. Imam Omar al Din, and then his son, the Crown Prince, Ishaq, son of Imam Omar al Din [illegible] Babel, and there, we believe it, such as [illegible] and giraffes. The number of whom no one knows except God, meaning the red angels. He entered their fortress while they were unaware and may did [illegible] and when he saw what he saw, they [illegible] When a shout came from them and they were astonished [illegible] he killed some of them in a fierce fight. Then he entered their [illegible] and smashed [illegible] and everyone who was satisfied with the religion of Islam believed and built the [illegible] Omar [illegible] in the [illegible] of the [illegible] may God have [illegible] and [illegible]

TRANSLATION

After a [illegible] Hari 58 [illegible] heard [illegible] Then he [illegible] ride on him. The Imam Umardin rode on the back of the great lion. Then rode his son, the Crown Prince, Ishaq, son of Imam Umardin, son of famous Šaih Umar Qutbaddin on the back of the [illegible] He traveled until he reached the apartment of Hadj Afaiyah. He [illegible] Conquering house came [illegible] Babile [illegible] and giraffes [illegible] whose number the educated 64 do not know, but only God. Then he [illegible] when the enemy saw what was happening, they [illegible] As he [illegible]

* See also notes 79 and 155

rose against them, they were so frightened that they could no longer run away. He caused a great [illegible] among them. Then [illegible] those who [illegible] the religion of [illegible] the [illegible] Then he [illegible] as over on the [illegible]

Prophetic Hijra: May Allah bless the Prophet. 65

VARIANTS

[illegible] ijā Wadi Barahsan. Otherwise k.w.A. versus C.

[illegible]

[illegible] house. In a first passage L is defaced. "When the people of Babile saw him, they [illegible]" instead of wa-lammā ra'a mā ra'a wa-harabu gami ahum.

B [illegible]

[illegible]

Note [illegible] [illegible] time of [illegible] Maybe the word is just a prescription for a time expression like the one LB has.

Note 59. The translation follows the reading of LB.

Note [illegible] the [illegible] other manuscripts.

Note 61. The translation follows partly C, partly L.

Note 62. Babile is on the one hand the name of a place located 31 km southeast of Harar on [illegible] southeast of this place.[1]

[illegible] the 16th century however, came in connection with the Grañ Wars

[1] Guida p. 437 'Babile or Babili' and the map between p. 448 u. 449.

[2] See the map at HUNTINGFORD: Galla p. 15.

[3] HUNTINGFORD: Galla S. 15. Trimingham: Islam in Ethiopia S.

The Bah Ge [illegible] Galla.

Note 63 BAUDI DI VESMA gives a brief description of the flora and [illegible] previous ones, not big, not [illegible] You can use the same [illegible]

[illegible]

Note 64 The translation follows the reading by AH

[illegible] mentioned at all in the emir lists

[illegible] with leadership functions

[illegible] or another saint, while he himself returns to his ancestral land. We will therefore have to [illegible] time

[illegible]

[4] See the map at HUNTINGFORD: Galla p. 15.

[5] Vgl. SANTAGATA: *Nova* S. 90; LEWIS: *Peoples* S. 23

[6] [illegible]

[7] WAGNER: Genealogies p. 105

[illegible]

even after he came to power in Babile. ■

XIV. VISIT TO IDAL SHUDDIN'S AND BUKUŠ'S IN BABILE

TEXT (BL. 5b)

Then after that, Imam Omar al-Din returned to the seat of Saad al-Din with the spoils and the [illegible]

[illegible] to go to war. The brown prince, Imam Ishaq, son of the great Imam, Omar al-Din, was unable to [illegible]

with a fierce attack. At that time, Sharif Eidar said, "In the Name of God, God is Great," and he drew his sword and rushed him. They fled on and fought hard, and God gave him victory. Sharif Eidar was defeated and the knights were defeated, and he took their knights and rode off. Sharif Eidar and his [illegible] walked until they arrived at Imam Ishaq and built the mosque and built the lighthouse after completing the mission. He returned to Bari, Saad al-Din, the city of saints, with the gift and the spoils.

TRANSLATION

Afterwards [illegible]

When he heard the war and the struggle for faith, he rejoiced and asked for salvation for him [illegible]

[illegible]

to erect buildings), then came the return to Bari, Saidaddin, the city of the saints, with the gifts and the spoils.

[illegible] the following section XIV

[illegible]

[illegible] Otherwise no details

[illegible]

[illegible] some horses from them."

[illegible] Iǧanā im kuli minhum

[illegible]

[illegible] 1 (86-1415). 2 The country's name Bar Saldaddin first appears in [illegible] not the one is [illegible] Bar Saldaddin [illegible] of the [illegible] makes it clear that [illegible] Bar Saldaddin is [illegible] is needed

[1] CERULLI [illegible] FERRY. Hypothèses map on p. 27

[2] About him see Introduction §24

[3] Furūh 3. 5.

[illegible] Abdallah. The list of saints and other sources show that there was both an Abdal and an Idal, and that the two must be separated. The only possibility [illegible] with certainty who is right.

[illegible] people.

[illegible] Idal's is no longer mentioned in the Faith.

[illegible] with hamza. In the first case it is understood as a reduction of Abdallah, which was [illegible] can't make out anything about him.

[illegible]

[illegible]

6 WAGNER: List S. 265.

7 WAGNER: List p. 277. WAGNER: Holy songs p. 32, 42.

8 BURTON: *Fooseeps* I, S. 202. PAULITSCHKE: *Ethnographie* 2, S. 70. PAULITSCHKE: Harar, sketch plan at the end of the book. RUBEL-CHIERICHETTI: Nel Harar, mainly to p. 122, was able to visit the grave myself in 1966.

9 PARET: *Chronik* S. 431.

10 WAGNER: Holy Songs p. 46.

[illegible]

of the [illegible] Nugus [illegible] B[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] Praise be to God who has [illegible] Praise be to God who has brought us together in [illegible] and exchanged joy for sorrow. If God wills, he will help us by one band of them against another. 'Let us be victorious in war! Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds. Amen!"

[illegible]

V (page 5a) no details towards C

[illegible]

Preliminary remark §6

[illegible]

[illegible] words are missing. The year that Review [illegible] gives at the [illegible] of the year 632 d.H."

[illegible]

of the day of the week and year without mentioning the day of the month is also something strange.

[illegible] who has [illegible] and [illegible] be to God, the Lord of the worlds. Amen!"

[illegible] the Sa'ts, the [illegible]

V (page 5a) no details towards C

[illegible] improves the original idea to Abdal. Instead of muwallada there is mordin of Preliminary remark

[illegible] is A. Muqâhdadon, which is [illegible] a type. The [illegible] [illegible] al-talâ'ât of the year 632 d.H."

[illegible] Then [illegible] says: "And we had [illegible] as a day of the week taking into account the readings of L and B. Or is it the other way around, to the day of the week and year without [illegible] strange

COMMENT

Note 72. As already made clear in PARET, tradition knows two places called Dakka. One was on the territory of the Be[illegible] Sorar[illegible] which lived 60–80 km east of Harar, near today's F[illegible]yambiro.[1]

The second Dakkar, also called Dakkar Gobana, is a slope directly southeast of Harar on the road to [illegible]ga, where an oil factory now stands.[2] Supposedly there are st[illegible]ns there, but I didn't see them.

Dakkar is [illegible] most cases it is not clear which of the two Dakkar's is meant.

1. The legendary Emir Habib ba defeats the C[illegible]an C[illegible] at Dakkar Gobana.[3]

2. Mag[illegible] Dakkar as the Reader of Sultan's Bad[illegible] [illegible] 143 to 45[illegible]

3. According to the Ethiopian history of the Nagus Askender, Dakkar was destroyed by this ruler in [illegible] 1579 in battle against the Adal Sultan [illegible] Emir.[4]

4. In 1520 the Sultan Abu Bakr of Adal moved his capital from Dakkar to Harar.[5]

[illegible] Dakkar was located in the [illegible] mountains, but the sources restrict it to Harar. From Bubale, which was situated [illegible] where people were already cheering for victory.

Note 73. This is probably a prophecy of the [illegible] conquest of Gran, see Section XX. [illegible] that he was an Arab Gazi in the Muslim sense.

Note 74. The third river was named by Abdalmuhaimin Abdannasir [illegible] from Harar you first cross two other tributaries. Although the location of the river makes it [illegible] possible to [illegible] say which ye[illegible] the reading of B suggests that this is a ghost river and that there is in fact a dating

1. [illegible]

2. On the Berbera, see PAUL SCHKE, Harar [illegible] and WAGNER, Documents [illegible] 22.

3. [illegible] Abdal[illegible] area. CERULLI, Lingua [illegible] p. 20 [illegible] Islam p. [illegible] gives the corresponding localization in today's Eyambiro [illegible]

4. PAUL SCHKE, Harar S. 297, ROBECCHI-BRICCHETTI, Nel Harar S. 215, PARET [illegible]

5. Chronik S. 441, WAGNER, Chronologie S. 201, Anm. 46.

6. [illegible]

7. [illegible] to p. 286, Islam next to p. 268.

8. CERULLI, Documents S. 48–49, Islam S. 146–47.

9. CERULLI, Documents S. 50, Islam S. 148.

Note 75. The exact meaning of muwallad is not clear in this context. [illegible] readings [illegible] the [illegible] fellow travelers [illegible] to be preferred. [illegible] a very common term [illegible] a factor factor?

XVI. INSERT 'UMARDIN'S

TEXT (BL. 5b-6a)

And after in the year 6[illegible] the drought was [illegible] then the [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] were in continuation

[illegible]

[illegible] were [illegible] to the [illegible] and they [illegible] to them from all sides, unwillingly and willingly. O [illegible] and may God's prayers and peace be upon [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Yusuf Al-Akwan [illegible] Then he [illegible] and accepted the return of all who invited him [illegible]

TRANSLATION

[illegible] the sur[illegible] Commander [illegible] back [illegible] Then [illegible] had decided to march back, namely, Bisk al-Hafi and Ab Wa[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] there is Kana ala r-Rum instead of Kana ala r-Kuzum and instead of Yusuf al-Akwan there is the form Yusuf Iwan.

A (pages 6b-7a) and H (pages 7b-8a) have Kana ansara min (H: ala r-) ar-Rum. Otherwise no details towards VC.

[illegible] are missing. The rest is slightly shortened.

[illegible] 1 core.

COMMENT

[illegible] chosen the reading from C for this unclear passage.

[illegible]

Harar or still with powers within Harar

[illegible]

[illegible]

[1] So PARET. Chronik S. 431.

[illegible]

[illegible] Abram. However [illegible] Wali Nasir.

In the ruler lists, Wali Allah Nasir is listed as the 4th ruler and Wali Allah II b [illegible]

The other Wali Nasir is mentioned for the first time when he came to power in [illegible] afterwards it is reported that he (name here: Wali Nasir Abram) against Gumil [illegible] (probably the year 651) (12 August 1253).

[illegible] succeeded him.

[illegible] Nasrawi [illegible] Nasrawi [illegible] and Faq. Nasrawi from the Hararin list.

[illegible]

- In PARET: Chronicle p. 434 treated as one person.
- CERULAS: Enopia medievale, genealogical table between pages 285 and 286.
- WAGNER: List S. 256-57.

XVII. EVENTS IN K'ABALLE

TEXT (BL. 6a)

A few days later, he heard Imam Omar al-Din fighting with the infidels, Sharif Dibnah, in the land of the valley. [illegible] Then Imam Omar al-Din went out with armies to the complex before him, and they were killed in a severe fight, and he died, may God have mercy on him, on the [illegible] of Jumada [illegible] the seventh day of Thursday in the year [illegible] years after the migration of the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, he is [illegible] to him, or he was honorable, or he was led by the brave and brutal. After him, the vizier took over the war of [illegible] guardian. He returned, supported and victorious, with chiefs and glorification, along with the spoils. In Imam Omar al-Din [illegible] who had rights gave him his war and accepted the return to his family.

TRANSLATION

After a few days, [illegible] Dabana [illegible] Arab [illegible] the valley [illegible] K'aballe [illegible] Sharif Ali Dabana was a brave hero [illegible] ministers 4. He fought the war over a period of a month and [illegible] He [illegible] everyone [illegible] and with victory presented the spoils to the Imam [illegible] and praising God [illegible] sublime [illegible] his state of the spoils. Then came the return to their respective families.

VARIANTS

V (pages 5b–6a) no details towards C.

A (page [illegible]) [illegible] Dabana [illegible] otherwise no details towards VC.

H (pages 6a–b) the day of the month is missing from the date of Sharif Dabana's death. The praise Words to the dead Ali Dabana in CV represent a successor in H [illegible]

b. Šuga the Brave." Otherwise no details to VCA.

L (pp. 4–6) gives the same information as in slightly smoother Arabic. Review [illegible] the [illegible] semester [illegible] was [illegible]

[illegible]

And you must know. If you take any spoil, etc.[*]

B [illegible] after his death[*]. The year in B is again 436.

[illegible]

[illegible] that bears his name.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Šuǧāʿa a ghost name, created through reading.

Note 84. Since there was no mention of Shaef Dabana as Minister of War [illegible]

XVIII. TOD ISḤĀQ B. 'UMARDĪN'S

TEXT (BL. 4a)

[illegible]

He fought against the infidels ten staffies in the month of Jumada al-Awwal 10 ten days on Friday in the year 638 six hundred and thirty eight AH of the Prophet, may, and bless him and grant him peace. [illegible] him and gave him greetings and greetings, then he gave him the letter about the death of his son Ishaq.

[illegible]

[*] WAGNER: List p. 275.

[*] Paret: Chronik 5, 443.

[illegible]

[illegible]

fleeing from them

TRANSLATION

While he (ʿUmardin) was like this, he (Ishaq b. ʿUmardin #5) [illegible] fighting the [illegible] the [illegible] of Jumada 1 b 18 [illegible] May God bless him [illegible] Where a few [illegible] had passed, the news came through the riders while the Imam [illegible] Some men came to [illegible] and [illegible] He [illegible] [illegible] from them."

[illegible]

V, page 6a, no details towards C.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

B, pages [illegible] is not quite a [illegible] [illegible] B. [illegible] the news [illegible] So word it as if it were a new event. The [illegible]

The information is in B 438

[illegible]

Note 85. None of the manuscripts say who [illegible] So you are tries to change the pronoun in the verb [illegible] either ʿUmardin or Aḥ Wal Nasir b. Gamāladdin [illegible] two before [illegible] [illegible] Jes Fath was [illegible] and died then in the same year, see note [illegible] who assumes that the [illegible]

[illegible]

But everything [illegible] the story much better [illegible] assumes that the [illegible] immediately afterwards. The [illegible] of B[illegible] however [illegible] have [illegible] assume [illegible] the name of [illegible] already [illegible] the basis of a [illegible] part of the author.

XIX. TOD BIŠR AL-HAFI'S

TEXT (BL. 4a)

When he heard that news, his anger intensified with grief and the loss of his son, and then, an [illegible] eastern side of the tribe and [illegible] and they killed many people, and [illegible] Bišr al-Hafi died after making [illegible] on Saturday, in the year 640 A.H., the Prophet, peace be upon him, and when two days later [illegible] famous Rubbah ibn Qulb, Saiyid Al-Hashim came, and they entered on the day of the three, and [illegible]

[illegible]

TRANSLATION

When he [illegible] heard this news, he became very angry. Grief and [illegible] the son. Then [illegible] the [illegible] against the tribe [illegible] Religious wars clashed and many people were killed. The Saih May Allah's mercy be upon him by Bišr al-Hafi after he died [illegible] October/November [illegible] the Hijra of the [illegible] after two days passed away [illegible] of God and the [illegible] among men came [illegible] and Al-Fazl Na-raw 49 and Al-Buba [illegible] Tuesday and gathered with the [illegible] and consulted with him. When [illegible] Religious war [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Al-Buba [illegible]

A [illegible] preliminary remarks [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] (VCA)

[illegible] his father another saint, waš-šahir as-sayyid Ali Hašim.

[illegible]

[illegible] with the same name.

[illegible] translated and this means the Portuguese, who lived here.

The revenge campaign is directed against them.

[illegible] lies within the city walls at the Shoah Gate.

[1] PARET, Chronik S. 438 u. S. 442.

[2] CERULLI, End S. 78; CERULLI, Islam S. 387.

[3] Vgl. Guide S. 437.

[4] PARET, Chronicle p. 430; WAGNER, List p. 255.

[5] See WAGNER, Chronology p. 200-01.

Note 88 [illegible] Bayan al-Bistāmī.

[illegible] sect on XXI).

[illegible] known from other sources.

[illegible] CERULLI [illegible]

[illegible] the ruined cities of Somaia from the [illegible] and [illegible] centuries.

* PARET, Chronik S. 428.
* WAGNER, Songs of the Saints p. 39, note 23.
* A. J. WENSINCK and J. RUBSON in E. s. v.
** PARET, Chronik S. 430.
* WAGNER, Chronology Tab. 1.
** Vgl. PARET, Chronik S. 428 u. 429.
* CERULLI, Traditions S. 33 and CERULLI, Notes S. 216.
* Aurāh, Trud. S. 118.
* HUNT, Survey S. 18.
** Towns. There, Pl. IV, there is also a photograph of the grave of Au Buba.

The last two dates show that Au Buba does not fit chronologically into the Fath and like Au Bana [illegible] have been added later among the saints around Abādir.

In my Arabic Sayyid Songs from Hatar 17 based on the reading of [illegible] and the fluctuating names given elsewhere in the Fath, I made three people out of Au Buba: his ism and his nasab, and came to a similar conclusion independently of PARET 18.

1. Sayyid 'Ali Mughahidin 19
2. Au Buba Abram b. Thal's right 20
3. Wazir Abram Sayyid 'Ali Mugāhidin b. Haasim 21

Now [illegible] referred to in the Fath but that both Au Buba Abram and his father Sayyid 'Ali Mugāhidin are [illegible] that the name [illegible] very similar.

XX. TOD 'UMARDĪN'S

TEXT (BL. 6a)

[illegible]

they returned to the cemetery and buried him in his mosque in the light

comer

TRANSLATION

Meanwhile the imam 'Umardin son of 'Umar's [illegible] died [illegible] him and [illegible] dead Muslims at mid-morning [illegible] Friday the 14th of Jumada [illegible] the year [illegible] just, pious and brilliant [illegible] on the same day before prayer. Friday [illegible] the [illegible] was the imam Au Wali Nasir [illegible] Au Wali Nasir performed [illegible] people went out in the

17 S. 33 pp. 41-42, Anm. 35

18 PARET: Chronik S. 428. Abrām ibn Sayyid 'Alī Muǧāhidīn b. Hāšim, S. 429 [illegible]

19 WAGNER: List p. 279. WAGNER: Songs of the Saints p. 33 and 39

20 WAGNER: Songs of the Saints p. 41

21 WAGNER: Holy Songs pp. 41-42

Area of the field of [illegible] A [illegible] because of the crowd [illegible] took him back to the burial site and buried him in his mosque in the right corner.

[illegible]

[illegible] purely a spelling error.

A (pp. 76-84) like HLB, introduces the name of the road section to Imam 'Umar [illegible] therefore secondary, see preliminary remark §14. A reads with V kz-zahma, for which H [illegible]

[illegible]

B [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] his father [illegible] the Fiqh [illegible] The grave is still there today.

[illegible] of the ruler lists (see note 80).

* PARET: Chronicle p. 426, note 14. WAGNER: List p. 29.

Note 94. The [illegible] with the [illegible] makes it clear that because of the crowd (and not as Cirea[illegible]) because of the smell, the [illegible] go out into the open field.

XXI. GOVERNMENT AND DEATH OF WALI NASIR I AND FAQIH NASRAWI

TEXT (BL. [illegible])

After a while against the Muslims, Imam Wali Nasser went out with the minister Ibram bin Sayyid Ali Mujahideen bin Hasrum to the valley where he was sent, and they engaged in war and fighting [illegible] Almighty [illegible] Al [illegible] the middle of the [illegible] dispersed armies until Hamyarian Marrow arrived from a valley called Mont, and they adhered to war and fighting with the Nasrawi jurist, and they killed him and cut him off, so God, sustained, he will face to be returned to the fire, and since hell was the decision. When they saw him, he hastened his coming, and they [illegible] mercy on him, in the Gardens of Paradise, immortal. The brave was killed from the tribe of the cursed twenty five, 25 chiefs of the knights, and the brave was his death. May God Almighty have mercy on him on Thursday, the time of Magrib, the twenty-seventh of the month of God, Rajab, in the year 861, we hammed

Fifty-one of the migration of Mustafa

[illegible]

After a break for [illegible] Wali Nasir moved with the Wazi [illegible] Sen [illegible] war and battle with [illegible] Kathiyal from the Portuguese, the [illegible] they fraudulently [illegible] Then the Wali Nasir died of mercy heart of [illegible] and was [illegible] Harage. That was on [illegible] Gomada [illegible] cursed one. Then the armies separated by scattering [illegible]

The above-mentioned tale arrived and the war and fight with Faqīh Nasrawī broke out [illegible]. Then the Karayān was killed by him (Faqīh Nasrawī). He smote him [illegible] and God has [illegible] ugly face to hell [illegible] what a [illegible] place to be [illegible] when the enemies saw [illegible] they quickly [illegible] sides. He [illegible] of God [illegible] above [illegible] The [illegible] leaders [illegible] be [illegible] was the [illegible] of the chosen one [illegible] Thursday evening the 27th of the month of God Raǧab in the year 651 (September 22, 1253, was a Sunday).

VARIANTS

[illegible]

[illegible] says that everyone went to his own country [illegible] Preliminary note §6 in A

[illegible] (pages 8a-b) and H (pages 10a-11a) the two sentences that V has beyond C are missing [illegible]

[illegible] as the year for the death of Wāli Nāṣir [illegible] AH, L reads ruhahu. Otherwise, as always, L has a freer choice of words compared to VCAH.

[illegible] and shortenings of C. The years here are 440 and 451.

[illegible]

Note 95. [illegible] is the son of the Portuguese [illegible] man, scripts. He later converted to Islam, was given the name Emir Ǧabr [illegible] to aight on the Muslim side and ultimately fell.

Note 96. According to Abū'l-muḥāmin Abū'l-nāṣir, the large mountain [illegible] Ḥarāt [illegible] the geographical [illegible]

Note 97. The name Ḥarāt [illegible] Ḥarāt [illegible] Ḥarāt as the name of the city [illegible] and Ḥarāt that of the city. However, the [illegible] not present in the Fath.

Note 98. A year for the death of Wāli Nāṣir and the accession to power of Faqīh Nasrawī is only given in L with 644 and [illegible] respondingly B with 446. However [illegible]

[1] Paret: Chronik S. 430-31
[2] Cerulli: Lingua S. 2

[illegible] the stated 15 days. Note

99: Additions after V

XXII. GOVERNMENT AND DEATH OF WALI NĀṢIR II

TEXT (BL. 6b)

[illegible] and recited the hubbe. Our art with the congregation from the first sarah to the end until the sun [illegible] endowment. After that, while the people were in a state of chaos, the illness accepted, and the Imam left. Nasser [illegible] may God Almighty have mercy on him, the mercy of the righteous, entered on Friday, the [illegible] of Ramadan [illegible]

TRANSLATION

After [illegible] Harar 102 [illegible] Then died the Imām Wali Nāṣir [illegible] Hiǧrajahr (November 8, 1253, was a Saturday).

[illegible] became [illegible] between C and V, see preliminary remark §11.

[illegible]

the day and month

[illegible]

COMMENT

[illegible]

mosques in Harar. The word (mosque) is added after V

Note 101 Addition to VLB

[illegible]

had abandoned because of the danger of the epidemic

[illegible]

within the same year

XXIII CONVERSION OF GURNIL

TEXT (BL 86)

And after that, Imam Muhyi al-Din Yusuf al-Awan ibn Bari took charge in his day, and his minister

at that time was Sharif or Zarbei, and he ordered him to expel the infidels in Harar. The Imam said

[illegible]

quits out and refuses to adhere to the religion of Islam, do not leave him until you kill him, and then after

[illegible]

the Messenger of God, Muhyi al-Din, may God [illegible] the Imam [illegible] said the word Islamic

[illegible]

And Amir Jibril

TRANSLATION

[illegible]

At the government [illegible] was his wazir. He

[illegible]

[1] WAGNER, Chronology Table 1

[illegible]

V (pages 7a-b) agrees with C except for small details.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] to the information in the ruler lists.

[illegible] Harar [illegible] by [illegible] [1]

[illegible] place. Harar [illegible] two manuscripts have [illegible] Hararge.

[1] WAGNER, Chronology p. 200 and Table [illegible]

[2] PARET, Chronik S. 437

[3] [illegible] S. 278

[4] Vgl. WAGNER, Documents S. 223, Anm. 71

XXIV. THE ARTISANS OF THE SAMIR TRIBE

TEXT (BL. 4b)

[illegible]

TRANSLATION

[illegible] mountains.[107] The imam Muhyaddin said to him: 'God, he is exalted, has [illegible] Sultan Salim waged war with the Samir tribe in 1509. (Since then they have been) [illegible] If you choose to speak according to your speech, then kill him and don't let him go

[illegible] him and grant him peace and blessings.[1]

[illegible]

V. pages 7b-8a; no details towards C.

[illegible] Kamiyat instead of Kamiyai given in VC.

[illegible]

[illegible] the wording.

[illegible] personality.

[1] Parry, *Chronik* S. 440.
[2] Lehau, *Dictionary* S. 141.
[3] Legends S. 123–24.

[illegible]

thoughts are expressed here

[illegible]

for his son

[illegible]

or a text failure, the captain and his sultan

* HAMMER-PURGSTALL: *Geschichte* 2, S. 672; 3, S. 792; ALDERSON: *Structure* Tal. XXXI, XXIX and XLV.
* Vgl. TRIMINGHAM: Islam in Ethiopia S. 89.
* Story 3, pp. 546–47.

* COUPLAND: *East Africa* S. 58–60; *History of East Africa* 1, S. 137–38.
* FREEMAN-GRENVILLE: *Coin Finds* S. 38.

to Ali b. Salim, if this [illegible] is correct, we can date the [illegible] the year [illegible] 5-88.

Note 110: Improved according to H.

[illegible]

Amir Gabril).

Note 112: [illegible]

[illegible]

XXV FIGHTS WITH THE GALLA

TEXT (BL. 6b-7a)

[illegible]

[illegible] Ibn Arab [illegible] Yahya Ibn Abi Bakr Ibn Uthman Ibn Yahya accepted Bin Sultan [illegible] Din and

[illegible]

[illegible]

of the war [illegible] the tribe of Qir Aat and the tribe of Ajr Qal and God's guardian Sheikh Asiah a-Din said: "This is how I conquered the country and I pledge to you [illegible]

[illegible] camels, one hundred forty-one daggers, two hundred and eight spears carried on a zebra, and other things.

10 PARET: Chronik S. 442
11 WALDER: Documents S. 223, Anm. 65
12 Nek Halar S. 216
13 PARET: Chronik S. 440
14 RUBECCHI, BRICKETS: Nek Halar S. 217; Guide S. 437
15 HAMMERSCHMIDT: Ethiopia p. 24
16 Ethnography 1, p. 64

TRANSLATION

By order of the [illegible] Amir [illegible] for [illegible] hings

[illegible]

The list of booty is heavily distorted in AH

[illegible] CV and HA. It ends with the words "This is what al-Hay Afaizaru took." This clearly shows [illegible] incorrect.

[illegible]

COMMENT

[illegible]

meaning can no longer be made out. It also contains some Harari words that are certainly not [illegible]

[illegible]

mentioned in the chronicle 'Amda Sayon's 5

[illegible]

XXVI. AMIR GABRIL'S FIGHT WITH HIS SISTER

TEXT, BL. 7a

[illegible]

[illegible]

His right hand and his left leg were sent to him, and when Amir Jesus saw him, he rose to his feet

saddled his horse, and headed with his armies to the land of the aforementioned, and there was

[illegible]

[1] **Paret**, *Chronik* S. 437-38

[2] BURTON, Footsteps 1, S. 202; PAULITSCHKE, Ethnographie 2, S. 70; PAULITSCHKE, [illegible]

[3] **Wagner**, *Documents* S. 219-24

[4] [illegible]

[5] **Huntingford**, *Victories* S. 74

[illegible]

[illegible] Amir [illegible] Amir [illegible] and Amir Ǵabrī held on to him. He was stabbed twelve times, and his horse's back fell from the trench.

When [illegible]

[illegible] so the mercy of God Almighty came upon all the dead Muslims.

TRANSLATION

As for Amir Ǵabrī, when he went to the land of Dass [illegible] 1[illegible] he wrote a letter to her and sent [illegible] When she [illegible] [illegible] When Amir [illegible] [illegible] He fought with [illegible] [illegible]

VARIANTS

[illegible] "He wrote her a letter instead of C. "He wrote him a letter."

[illegible] bi-hiyām can be read out. Otherwise V has no details.

[illegible] Amir Ǵabrī's escape and return.

Amir Ǵabrī is inserted AH. [illegible] Ǵabrī." AH completely [illegible] which perhaps arose from [illegible] people

[illegible] the full text here.

[illegible] and on all the dead Muslims.[1]

[illegible] of Au Šanf Darbin.[2]

[illegible] this.

Note 117. According to [illegible] and Haila-Hagó in particular.

Note 118. Translated according to variants of other manuscripts.

[1] PARET, Chronik S. 411.
[2] ULLENDORFF, Ethiopians p. 61; HAMMERSCHMIDT, Ethiopia p. 51.
[3] PARET, Chronik S. 442.
[4] Excursion S. 643.

[illegible] eventual Muslim victory was [illegible] that 'Umar ar-Rida did not continue the fight upon his return.

XXVII. RETURN 'UMAR AR-RIDA'S

TEXT (BL 7a)

Thus, they all came from the Holy Mecca, and they were Sheikh Sheikh Omar Ar-Rida, Sheikh Qutb Al-Din, and Sheikh Aslan Al-Din, on the day of Tuesday, the [illegible] of Jumada Al-Awwal, in the year 66. When he [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] said, 'God Almighty said, If God supports you, there is no one who can defeat you, and if He abandons you, who is the one who will help you after him? And in God let those who trust put their trust.' And God Almighty also said, 'And [illegible] by God's permission.'

TRANSLATION

When they were in this [illegible] they all came on Tuesday [illegible] them led them out, stood on his feet and said, 'God he is exalted said, If God helps you [illegible] there is for you no one who can [illegible] over you. And if God lets you down [illegible] help.' Believers [illegible] God [illegible] 3:16[illegible]

[illegible] God he is exalted [illegible] among you. Those who [illegible] two thousand wins [illegible] 8:66-67.

[illegible]

[illegible] details towards C.

[illegible] otherwise no details towards VC.

[illegible] that see no details towards VCA.

[illegible] 47.7(8) and 3[illegible]60(154) are quoted as Quranic verses.

[illegible]

COMMENT

[illegible]

Note 22. The incorrect quotations from the Koran were improved or supplemented according to the translation by PARET.

XXVIII. 'UMAR AR-RIDA KILLS 140 HORSEMEN

TEXT (Bl. 7a)

While they were doing that, he saw from afar that the dust had risen and the knights were rubbing

like the [illegible] wind until he came towards the house of Sheikh 'Omar Ar-Rida, and those horsemen stood up

and crashed like the seas, the waves beating and stabbing, and fighting day and night until they

killed of the knights, [illegible] one hundred and forty and [illegible] knights, and then returned running away and

none of them remained. He arranged it and Sheikh 'Omar, may God be pleased with him, returned with

the victorious [illegible] and the spoils to his home.

TRANSLATION

[illegible] army and the spoils back to his camp.

V (page 9b) no details towards C

[illegible]

army returned with (illegible) the loot.*

XXIX FIGHT WITH KARMUN

TEXT (BL 7a-b)

When [illegible] the night of [illegible] Carmen, the wife of Mar Karmun, the daughter of the king of [illegible] and it was not the matter of the arrows, with her was Sheikh Umar Al-Ritha, with less than fifty horsemen and twenty four armed mechanics, with four men riding on one of them and one hundred of the men. Twenty men and from Tabriz brought fifty rifles. When Sheikh Umar saw the arrival of the [illegible] Imar said: "In the name of God, by God, and upon God who stains and cuts." When their number [illegible] they said: "Gather them together, oh God, God, and oh men of God." He hears a saying that [illegible] Sheikh Omar returned, supported by victory, to his homeland with great reliefation and applause.

TRANSLATION

When [illegible]

Karmun's people lost that time had 400 soldiers and took from them grey and 120 camels and 20 donkeys [illegible]

and victorious with praise to God and jubilation

[illegible]

Vita 36-100 is called the Wazir al-Karkanu, a form that is added in C as the second [illegible]

but occasionally also has his own formulations.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Note 125. The translation follows the meaning of L.

XXX. DEATH OF KARMUN AND AU ZARBIT

TEXT (BL 76)

After [illegible] and five hundred vassal men, and that was 14 fourteen days in the month of Ramadan, at noon time. In [illegible] the Imam sent from his armies to the Minister of War, Kurdumu. When he saw what he saw, he did the [illegible] every hardship will come with saw. Imam Muhyiddin went out to the land of Bani Dani with an honorable [illegible] the Imam [illegible] Sharif [illegible] may God have mercy on him. Sed in the war, if Kurdumu may God [illegible]

TRANSLATION

After [illegible] returned to Imām Muhyiddin and told him what he had seen [illegible] Imām said [illegible] Au Zarbit to the country [illegible] They met with Kurdumu's army in the said country and fought fiercely. God gave victory to Sarif Au Zarbit and [illegible] the Muslims, and the Vazir Sarif Au Zarbit, the mercy of God be upon him [illegible] the war with Kurdumu. God [illegible]

[illegible]

V. pp. 10b-11a) does not let the Imām send a man from his army [illegible] Otherwise, no information available to C.

A [illegible] and H [illegible] have other mostly common transcription errors [illegible] The [illegible] the calling which is missing here. The Wuzir here is called [illegible] than the other manuscripts.

XXXI TOD MAR KANIŠ'S

TEXT (BL. 7b)

[illegible]

hundred and fifty farms, and he and the vizier ordered the war against the armies of Kanish Mar from the

end of Ra, and they fought hard for four days and they did hold the end of Kanis. When Anarli Ekal

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Our knights shouting, blazed and shining, and the spoils are countless.

TRANSLATION

After two days he sent some of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

32 REISE NACH MOGADISCO

TEXT (BL 7b)

[illegible]

[illegible]

Shoan islam al-Din Sheikh Fakih and Sheikh Muhammad and with them were two thousand 2,000

[illegible]

country of the aforementioned Mogadishu. This was on Thursday, the 12th of the month of Rabi al-Awwal

in the year 699 of the Hijra of the Muslims, and the groups were arriving on Monday

the sixteenth of the aforementioned month, to Sultan Ahmad bin Adam, and he asked

[illegible]

and then the great Sheikh Qutb al-Din Omar told him the story of what had happened

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

VARIANTS

V (pages [illegible]a-b) no details compared to C. The only interesting thing is a change in the Order [illegible] B [illegible] AH C follow see preliminary remark § 5 A.

pages [illegible]b-[illegible]a) and H (pages 15b-16b) the numbers of accompanying notes is missing. The departure took place in Hor [illegible] Rada. Otherwise no details from C.

[illegible]

Factual differences

B [illegible] several places, but overall follows C more closely than 15 Revised.

[illegible]

him.[illegible]

[illegible]

Note 128 Sharif Nur is mentioned in the list of saints of Harar (the full [illegible]

A[illegible]

[illegible]

Harar

[illegible]

find a husband.[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] saint's tomb within the city walls near the Zaila' Gate. 13

[illegible] any further information.

[illegible] Yusuf b. 'Izz-addin b. Ayyub b. Yahyâ b. Sultan Ibrahim from the descendants of [illegible]

[illegible]

b. Adam drove out.*

[illegible]

PARET Chronik S. 430

13 Statement of [illegible]

** PARET Chronik S. 431

15 WAGNER, List [illegible]

* PARET Chronik S. 420

Cronik S. 180-81

18 About him see WAGNER, Chronology p. 197

19 I cannot provide any further evidence for these names.

[illegible] 16 2 [illegible] also [illegible] By [illegible] Ahmad b. [illegible] Ahmad b. [illegible] 24 June 1647 ruled in Hara [illegible] was called 22 But that is also unlikely

[illegible] of the [illegible] of the [illegible] of the [illegible] of the following line

XXXIII. RETURN FROM MOGADISCIO

TEXT BL 76-8a

[illegible] place over a period of eight days. They had with them the shaved riders, eleven elephants, twenty five wild donkeys, and twenty-four camels, carrying some of war, including spears, spears, and spears. Dredgers and rifles, two puppies, five hundred grains combined, and this saving them. As for the gift [illegible] hundred blind horses, and when he saw this, this was a blessing and a great possession. Sheikh [illegible] God, who brought us together as a blessed group and separated us from After that, they dispersed and forgive me, O God, and our parents, and those who came to us, and those who passed away to you from our groups in God, and to all Muslims. Amen, and praise be to God, Lord of the [illegible] Sheikhs. And Sheikh Omar Al-Hisa said: "And whoever wants to return, let him return to his home [illegible] enters with his relatives during the period of three years of war, and the period will last for a school

Three months of preparation, waiting for war

TRANSLATION

[illegible]

20 Vgl. CERULLI: Documents S. 57 CERULLI: Islam S. 195
21 Zu hm vgl. CERULLI: Documents S. 93 CERULLI: Islam S. 206
22 Vgl. CERULLI: Emirs S. 17 CERULLI: Islam S. 367

[illegible] animals, 11 elephants, 25 wild asses, 24 camels, the equipment and weapons [illegible]

[illegible] (new) War Awaits 135"

[illegible]

V (pages 11b-12a) no details towards C [illegible] meaning, so that the additional sentence belongs to the speech of 'Umar ar-Rida [illegible] 'Umar ar-Rida.

[illegible] ar-Rida's in Rajutal than to Lan.

COMMENT

[illegible] on top of the other may be machine guns

[illegible] roughly HA

XXXIV MESSAGE AHMAD B. ADAM'S

TEXT (BL. 3a)

After a few days from the Muslims, news came from Sultan Ahmed to the Guardian of God

Sheikh Omar Al-Rida, that the tribe of the cursed Barbaous the Chinesian and he murdered brothers, Kamiyat.

This is his brother Sathat bin Mohanew, may God curse him. He has come to you in the great war, also with

[illegible]

the war? And one of them said, "We want the war and the fighting to go to the lands of the West, towards

[illegible] Saad al-Din. The number of wives that have the names is 405, four hundred and five, and that will

[illegible]

[illegible] and of Saad al-Din, the country and our enjoyment. They killed from us four thousand and nine hundred

[illegible]

[illegible] they killed from us [illegible] the daughter of Kamiyat, our king. Therefore, we sent war to fight them, take

our revenge, and return our money, our country, and our place. A warning to you, our Muslim brothers.

It is a great war, do not ignore it.

[illegible] Mosqa [illegible] Ro[illegible] Th[illegible] K[illegible] [illegible] army soldiers with [illegible] and [illegible] He [illegible] in Indonese Mountain [illegible] but [illegible] to the area of [illegible] Haqq [illegible] 14 [illegible] to [illegible] you [illegible] carry the war [illegible] one of [illegible] the West [illegible] Ba[illegible] the name is 405. No [illegible] them and no [illegible] them [illegible] of the [illegible] he was already existed [illegible]

[illegible]

And they [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to take [illegible] [illegible] and to return [illegible] [illegible]

VARIANTS

V. page 124-b, has, with the exception of the preliminary remarks in §5 and 6, mentioned cases without further details to C.

A [illegible]

[illegible] Be careful! Be careful when meeting your enemy. For you belong to us and we belong [illegible]

A [illegible] forth. "And the number of Harar, those letters, is 405 — e. the letters of [illegible] names (of God?). God knows best. Perhaps this means that no non can cut through its [illegible] use to the word of the confession of unity. God knows best. It seems as if the writer [illegible] passage, which he also finds in need of explanation.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Sidar [illegible]

[illegible]

Persian hypothesis speak

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

one could assume that both were contaminated in the Fath

[illegible]

fee and also for their protection

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Note 143. The translation follows the reading of V

XXXV. BRIEF OF YUSUF AL AKWAN

TEXT (BL. 8a)

Then, when Sheikh Omar Al-Ridha read the letter, he rose to his feet and wrote the

[illegible]

[illegible]

[1] PARET, *Chronik*, S. 435
[2] PARET, *Chronik*, S. 443
[3] PARET, *Chronik*, S. 430
[4] PARET, *Chronik*, S. 435
[5] [illegible]
[6] *Somalia*, S. 461
[7] *Footsteps* I, S. 165
[illegible]
[8] [illegible]

The cursed one called Fidar, do not be afraid and do not be sad. God is with us, so may God grant [illegible]

[illegible] God, God are men of truth and trust, and so one will remain who heard the news. When the letter reached [illegible] from Imam Muhyi al-Din, and he was between war and wind with the tribe of Armas, Rama, and may [illegible]

[illegible] great strength, the great master of success and timeliness, Sheikh Aziz ibn Al-Sheikh Aziz al-Din, were circle [illegible] and obeyed with the Imam whenever he was.

TRANSLATION

[illegible]

[illegible] The probably incorrect idea of C can be found in AH, which also contains the text distorted by further transcription errors.

As [illegible] as opponents.

Note 144. The translation follows the reading of VHA.

Note 145. [illegible] names [illegible]

[1] Parey, Chronik S. 439

[illegible] century, the border of the Emirate of Harar.[1]

[illegible] outside the Fath.

XXXVI. ANIS KILLS THE SNAKE

TEXT (BL. 8a)

If he [illegible] it was said: "Show people of the path of the snake," and he was not able to lead anyone [illegible]

"Show me it, and where it has grown, it has grown and settled." Qasim said: "He does not know anyone [illegible] said: This is a great snake. At what time does it come during the night?" Qasim said: "It comes at night at the time [illegible] the lamp." That is after two days during its night. We want to perform ablution for prayer [illegible] is our custom, so we lost water at that time, and the Shaikh came down. Anas was heading towards the valley, a river of water, and no one was with him except his donkey. When he reached the road, it was [illegible]

TRANSLATION

[illegible]

2 Guida p. 454 and the map at the beginning of the book.

3 CERULLI Lingua p. 40; CERULLI Islam p. 314.

4 PARLY: Chronik S. 428-429.

[illegible]

VARIANTS

[illegible]

versus fi athur (C), please refer to the preliminary remark §11

[illegible]

13b-14a) follows recension 1 in this section

COMMENT

Note 148 I have not been able to find Qasim in any other way

Note 149 The transition follows VHA

Note 150 The narrator suddenly falls into the first person Pl

Note 151 The transition follows HAB

[illegible]

XXXVIII [illegible]

TEXT (BL. 8a-b)

And Imam Muhyi al Din returned with him with the light of the lamp and gave him good [illegible]

and tone the lamp-light from it. Show it to me, and is it not like fire or like a chamber? Imam Muhyi said: Religion is like the eggs of a hen, and he gave it as a gift to Sheikh Omar Al Ridha. This pearl [illegible]

heard from man saying: And no one was able to go to a path to remove the stinking ugly snake. He prayed to Jan Aragon, [illegible] was not [illegible] Sheikh until it became a solar room and sail exists to this day, and Glory be to Him, the conqueror of every stubborn tyrant and have mercy on those who repent on the Day of Threat.

1 PART. Chronik S. 435

TRANSLATION

[illegible] the good news of his [illegible] The imam [illegible] of God [illegible] Umar ar Rida. The imam [illegible] the war with the Oromo of Rammis, and that he had killed the snake and [illegible] Rida said [illegible] Show me. What [illegible] to Sah Umar ar [illegible] He [illegible] victory over the unbelievers upon him. After a few days he heard from people who said [illegible] No one can [illegible] Then [illegible] the conqueror of all stubborn tyrants have mercy on him who converts on the day of judgment!

v (page 13a) no details towards C

A [illegible] agree

[illegible] God) is missing.

B (page 14a) follows VC with slight deviations

XXXVIII. POEM OF ĀNIS

Sheikh Anas says in the year 699 of the Hijra of Al-Mustafa mentioned from Al-Tawil [illegible] of Islam, Sheikh Omar

[illegible] who established and [illegible] the Honorable [illegible] raised up forever and ever

[illegible]

[illegible]

victionary of blessings and great things, so your born servant is still in goodness, except: O

men of God, in front of Omar al-Din and his eldest son, Qutb al-Din Omar, and the Qutb

al-Sheikhs, Abu Yazid, and in front of us is Muhy al-Din, Wow, Wai Nasser and Sheikh

Al-Mukhtar, Dar Ismail Jabarti, for he is of great esteem in the sight of God with victory. O

[illegible]

O brothers, be patient and unite, for by God you will succeed from those who oppress and

[illegible]

Al-Mukhtar, and his companions, Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman, Al-Dhu Tarp, the son and the jewels.

TRANSLATION

[illegible]

Chosen (1299), saying (tawil 153): O

[illegible]

Abu Bakr's 154

[illegible]

Brothers are among the leading men

[illegible]

and shine brighter than light 155, light upon light

[illegible]

scattered the brothers of the devils with the tracks

[illegible]

and victory!

[illegible]

rank with the mighty god

[illegible]

It will be delivered to you for all eternity

[illegible]

among the best of humanity

O [illegible]

the unchangeable fate

[illegible]

[illegible] born into welfare

[illegible]

Qutbaddin 'Umar

[illegible]

Nasir

[illegible]

Allah through his help.

Anise: O men of God! He is truly our guarantor. Ashtahaddin and Sharif Idal

are among the leading men.

O brothers, be patient and [illegible]

B

deeds of glory 156

and his companions Abu Bakr 'Umar 'Uthman and Ali the proud the sun and

V (page 13b) no details towards C

but do not provide any interesting variants

caliph Abu Bakr 3

due to the uncertainty in the IVth tribe

XXXIX ORAKEL 'UMAR AR RIDA'S

TEXT (BL 86)

Then all the tribes the sheikhs the men and the women came to his place and when

1 § 47-58
4 § 29-67
2 WAGNER Genealogies p. 100
3 See notes 56 and 79

[illegible] Ismail al-Jabara had four hundred knights and two hundred and fifty riflee. Sheikh Omar al-Ridhi said: "Our affairs are not like this. There are many men. Glory be to God, who is victorious in his affairs, and God is the agent of what we say." Then he [illegible] the book of 90 [illegible] for you, and for the [illegible] and by [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Al-Ridhi said: "I have discussed the matter and to him the matter will be returned."

TRANSLATION

[illegible] the matter goes back to Him."

[illegible] counting of the lottery letters [illegible] The paragraph [illegible] repeated here.

Note 157: The translation follows VB.

Note 158: The count is corrected to HALF.

XL. EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN 'UMAR AR-RIDĀ AND SIDĀR

TEXT (BL. 11b)

So the numbered were down to the land of misery of stone with Shaikh Omar, and set up a tent in the land of the [illegible], and wrote the paper to the Christian Sidar, and Shaikh Omar said, after the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

TRANSLATION

[illegible] testify to him. If you don't come to us and want war, so he if we are prepared. We will [illegible] worst. Fighting [illegible]. With these words the Ṣaḥ sent 'Umar ar-Ridā to the [illegible] [illegible] Either you take our revenge on your people for us or you take over let us have our country. If you do one of these two things, then You can do whatever you want."

V. page 14a) no details towards C.

A [illegible] instead of [illegible]

'Umar ar-Ridā's existing answer follows

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

or Bāsi Dum. That's how we found (it) written."

[illegible]

are missing.

[illegible]

The question of the army is missing: 'Umar's answer is available.

[illegible]

or mustaidd "equipped"?

[illegible]

the text. The whole speech of 'Umar ar-Rida is very unclear.

XLI. VICTORY OVER SIDĀR

TEXT (BL. 8b)

[illegible]

his house and the others after him. The [illegible] had arrived, and he threw

himself in his hands and attacked them with a fierce attack and many of them killed him. The infidels [illegible]

[illegible]

upon you any hardship in religion, and for you there is no one left except the ones riding and their animals.

[illegible]

of the infidels [illegible] four hundred and five. The saints of God, and they were surrounded by forty [illegible]

while the Wise Qur'ān is in Mount Sinai, walls of saints who [illegible] over anyone, all of them by their actions

[illegible]

and left them in his place.

TRANSLATION

When 'Umar ar-Ridā heard these words, his heart became angry

[illegible]

and left them in their places

v pages 14 a-b) no details towards C

COMMENT

XLII. VISION 'UMAR AR-R DA'S

TEXT (BL 86)

country. They returned after a while, and they were black and white, and among them was one of the polytheists

[illegible] over Abyssinia, [illegible] than the Muslims. He said, "Oh Dad, [illegible] of our Muslim brothers and Muslim [illegible]

[illegible] with your mercy, O Most Merciful of the Merciful. Amen. May I be fulfilled and may you be blessed with goodness.

TRANSLATION

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] page 14b) has instead of the meaningless المقيتة المقيتان in which HB follows instead of the also meaningless [illegible] is [illegible] which AHLB follows.

[illegible] in A المقيتانه المقيتان

[illegible]

disease and famine

[illegible]

behind the [illegible] B

COMMENT

Note 165. The translation follows V.

Note [illegible]. The [illegible] does not make it clear whether [illegible] extended over Abyssinia with the exception of the Massawa area. The [illegible] and the actual course of the Italian occupation make the former likely.

CHRONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

[illegible]

612 (1216) Among the Heiligen found in Mecca are Qutbaddin 'Umar b. Umar, Bayazid al-Bistāmī, Habib an-Naǧǧār, Ismā'il al-Gabartī, Yusuf al-Akwān, 'Umardin b. Qutb-addin 'Umar, Aṣlahaddin al-Taqī, Ṣufī Yahya [illegible]

After three months, all the tribes come together and [illegible] Šaihs as leaders for each tribe (VII)

[illegible] the 16th century]

2. Somali Yusuf al-Akwan, Ismā'il al-Ǧabartī (11. Century) and Au Barra (Obviously only in the 15th/16th century, century entered the circle of legends)

3. **Ala [illegible] Aṣlahaddin**

4. Argobba Hāǧǧ Afaizaru (Probably entered the circle of legends

[illegible] everyone first elects Qutbaddin 'Umar, who hands over the rule to his son 'Umar ar-Rida (As per my conjecture in note 34)

The tribes undertake to supply Harar with food and firewood (VIII)

619 (1222) 'Umar ar-Rida goes alone to Afardabba, where he meets Afaizaru. They hear a Portuguese and Italian-occupied railway (IX). There is a battle in the valley of Barahsan. The Christians win under Karniyāl and enter [Harar]. Then invade Qutbaddin 'Umar enters the camp of the Christians, who flee (X). A battle between Umardin and the pagans follows (XI)

[illegible] Time at Afardabba (XII). (During the battles with the Portuguese, Giese, and Italians, it is, according to my interpretation, tation in reality about disputes with Persians

[illegible]

625 (1228) Al-Babile: 'Umardin and his son Ishaq defeat the Christians [= Persian] again. Ishaq is installed as ruler [in Babile] (XIII). 'Umardin returns to Barr Sa'daddin, Šaib Idal and [illegible] enemy riders on the way (XIV)

[illegible] 'Umar ar-Reda goes on the pilgrimage to Mecca with the majority of the saints (XV). For this purpose he hands over the Imamate to his brother 'Umardin (XVI).

[illegible] The Minister of War Zani Dabana suffers a defeat against the [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] To avenge his son, 'Umardin goes against the Portuguese/Persians, at Karami Dasso. Bisir al-Hafi falls (XIX).

[illegible] 'Umardin dies. Wali Nasir I. Abram follows (XX). Au Wav[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Faqi Nasrawi takes over the government for 15 days. He kills Karniyal and then falls himself (XXI).

[illegible] [illegible]

Gamaladdin dies (XXII).

[illegible] [illegible]

Gumi is converted to Islam and given the name Amir Gabril [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

co-religionists. Afaizaru hits the Galla (XXV).

[illegible] [illegible]

and Kuriumo. He falls (XXVI).

[illegible] 'Umar ar-Reda returns home from Mecca with other Sa'ihs. He hears [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Yusuf al-Akwan and his Wazir Au Zarbi defeat the Karmun at Bissidimo. Karmun and Au Zarbi fall (XXX). Two days later, Zarif Idal joined the Man al-Karis Kurumma. She falls (XXXI).

[illegible] [illegible] from Mogadiscio. You will receive promises from him for business [illegible] (XXXII). Then they return to Barr with [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

the conquered land among the

[illegible]

RULER LISTS

A. Ruler in Harar

1. **'Umar ar-Rajâ (1216-34/35)**
2. **'Umardin (ab 1234/35-1251)**
3. Wali Nâṣir I. Abram (1251-1253)
4. Faqi Nasrawi (1253)
5. Wali Nashir II. Ghamaladdin (1253)
6. Yusuf al-Akwân (1253-)

ar-Rida (1279(?)-)

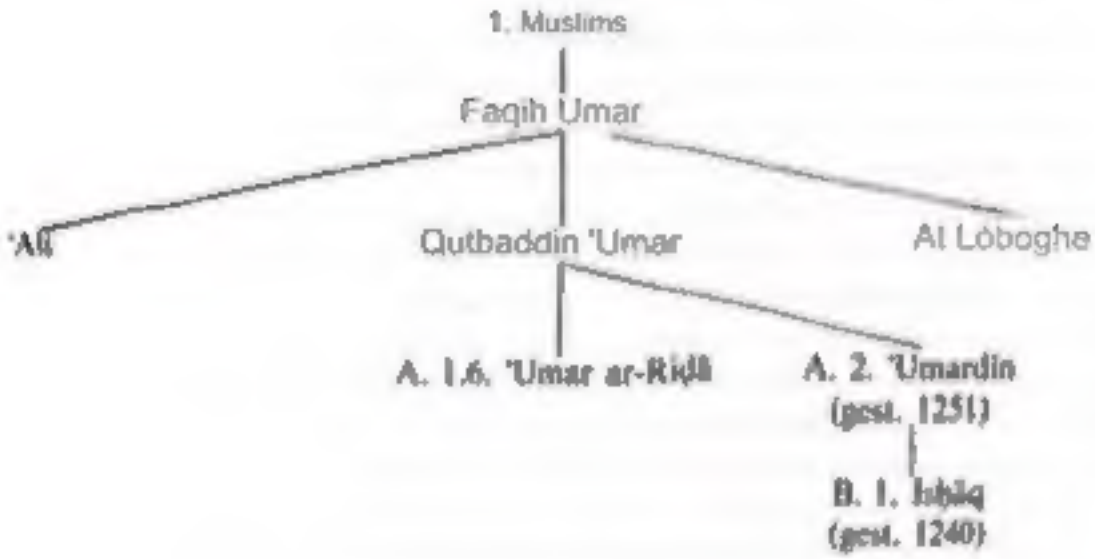
B. Ruler in Babile

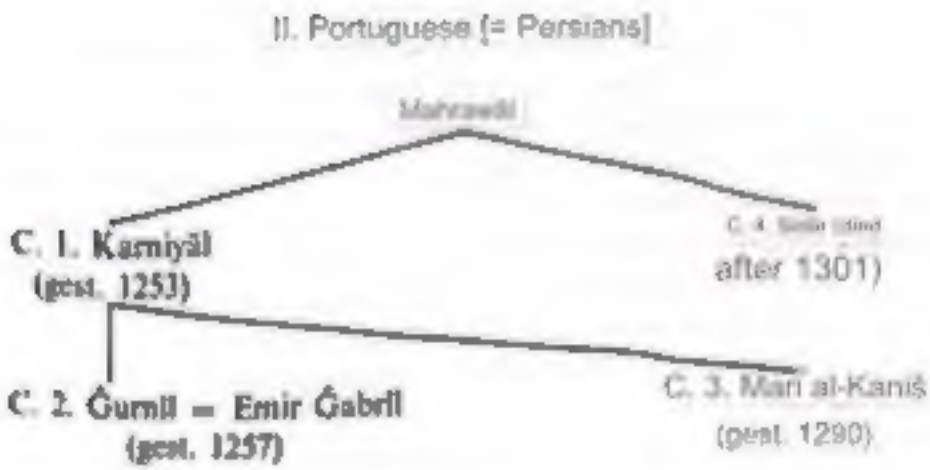
1. **Isḥâq b. 'Umardin (ab 1228, gest. 1240)**

C. Ruler of the Portuguese [= Persians]

1. Karniyal b. Mahrawal (gest. 1253)
2. [illegible] b. [illegible] (gest. 125[illegible])
3. Mari al-Qanish bint Karniyal (Gest. 1290)
4. Sidâr b. Mahrawal (gest. nach 1301)

FAMILY TABLES





SUMMARY

1. The Fath of Yahya Nasrallah describes the history of the Muslim conquest in Harar and the surrounding area with 'Umar ar-Ridā Abadir at the head in 1216 and the subsequent battles between the Muslims and their opponents in the years up to 1301, including the Portuguese come first. In addition, the Italians, once the pagans and once the Oromo (probably pagan Galla) are occasionally mentioned as enemies. In 1234/5 'Umar ar-Ridā went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and appointed his brother 'Umardin as his successor. After his death in 1251, the Hararins found themselves in such distress that several of 'Umardin's successors fell in quick succession and Harar had to turn to the saint of northern Somalia, Yūsuf al-Akwān, so that he could take over rule and thus protect the city. Even when 'Umar ar-Ridā returned in 1279(?), the wars did not subside, so that in 1299 a Hararin delegation together with Yūsuf al-Akwān went to Mogadiscio in southern Somalia to meet Sultan Ahmad b. Adam goes to ask for help. The last event mentioned in the Fath is a Muslim victory around 1300.

2. In order to place the events mentioned in the Fath in the history of Islam in Ethiopia, it is first necessary to be clear about whether the events of the Fath can be dated to the 13th century, is historical. For this purpose, it is important to fix the main characters of the Fath in time based on sources that are independent of him. 'Umar ar-Ridā himself achieves this with the help of genealogies. This of course also includes the dating of his father Qutbaddin 'Umar, his brother 'Umardin and his nephew Ishaq b. 'Umardin confirmed, Qutbaddin 'Umar, the ancestor of the Šaih tribe Au Qutub, can also be traced back to the 12th or 13th century through other, especially oral, traditions. date, so cum grano salis also in the time described in the Fath.

3. A fourth central figure in the Fath, Yūsuf al-Akwān, can also be dated almost certainly to the 13th century. be dated. Both his genealogy, a written source consulted by LEWIS and the oral traditions collected by LEWIS indicate this.

4. The Sufi Yahyā al-Muǧāhidīn, who plays a minor role in the Fath, also appears to be from the 13th century. to belong.

5. In addition to the central characters of the Fath, who we date back to the 13th century. There are some peripheral figures who can be more or less likely to be dated, but not to the 13th century. Isma'īl al-Ǧabartī lived in the 11th century, Au Buba is at the end of the 15th century. Au Barre in the 15th or 16th century, and Afaizaru with lots of question marks 17th

century 6. Accordingly, in the 13th century. Playful core story of 'Umar ar-Ridā's conquest of land in the area of Harar, subsequently the tribal saints of the tribes that only later settled in the area of Harar,

inserted and gathered around the figure of the central saint. Such a later settlement in the Harar area is possible for the Galla tribes Nole and Ala and probable for the Argobba.

7. Anachronisms occur not only in people, but also in events. The most important anachronism here is the appearance of the Portuguese. But the disputes with them form the main subject of the Fath. They last from 1222 to 1301. Since Ahmad aš-Šāmi met Sultan Ahmad b. Ādam is mentioned there as an ally of Harar against the Persians, where the Fath speaks of his ally against the Portuguese, it is reasonable to assume that the author of the Fath replaced the Persians with the Portuguese, since they were replaced by the Portuguese wars, which were closer in time to Ahmad Grañ's were much better known as enemies par excellence. The presence of Persians in the Horn of Africa in the 12th and 13th centuries, is made probable by oral Somali traditions, inscriptions in Mogadiscio and CHITTICK's research.

8. According to this hypothesis, we must see in the Fath the history of the conflicts between the people of Harar and Persian invaders. However, it would certainly be wrong to assume that in all the events described the word "Portuguese" has to be replaced by "Persian" in order to preserve the actual course of history. The religious contrast, which plays a decisive role in the fighting, was certainly transferred from the real Portuguese battles or from wars with Christian Ethiopia. This also includes the story of the conversion of Ğumil to Emir Ğabrīl. Further inclusions of later events in the history of Šaih 'Umar ar-Ridā are the appearance of the Turks and the most serious anachronism of the Fath, the appearance of an Italian (and Portuguese) railway before Harar. If one wants to crystallize the historical content of the Fath, one will have to highlight these stories, as well as the completely legendary ones, such as riding lions and killing the light-bearing serpent. It will probably also be necessary to exclude a number of other things whose other origins we cannot determine due to a lack of knowledge of Abyssinian history.

9. A number of pieces of information remain as a possible historical core of our source, which I try to incorporate into the previously known history of Harar and the Horn of Africa in the following hypothesis:

10. While the early Muslim invasions of Ethiopia led to the formation of states, especially in the south and in Shoa, of which the Mahzūmi dynasty became the best known, in the 13th century, led to a series of new invasions that led to the founding of states, particularly in the southeast of the country and in northern Somalia. The Walašma' dynasty of Ifat, which emerged during this period and which, after several advances to the west, eliminated the Mahzūmi dynasty in 1285, has long been known. Through the Fath we learn of another state being founded in Harar. The Fath also reports on people from Somalia and thus confirms data determined by LEWIS about the founding of the Isaq Confederation in northern Somalia and its ally Yūsuf al-Akwān, who was also able to expand his influence into Harar. The settlement of 'Umar ar-Rida and his companions was therefore part of a land

The influx of Muslims from Arabia affected northern Somalia, Ifat, Harar and the Ogaden (cf. the work of the Au Qutub Šaih family).

11. The Hararin Muslims soon had an opponent in the Persians, who arrived towards the end of the 12th century, invaded Somalia and continued until the first half of the 13th century, occupied Mogadiscio. Then they were removed from there by those of Abū Bakr b. The Arab dynasty of Banū Qaṣṣān or Banū Qahtan, founded by Fahraddin, was displaced. This forced them, on the one hand, to move south towards Kilwa, which led to the Šīrāzi colonization, and on the other hand to invade the Ogaden and harass Harar.

12. The battles fought between the Muslims of Harar and the Persians were very varied. Several rulers fell on both sides, resulting in rapid changes of government.

13. The pressure from the Persians finally became so threatening that the Hararines allied themselves through a personal union with Yūsuf al-Akwān from northern Somalia and, together with him, finally defeated the Qaṣṣāni Sultan Ahmad b. Adam of Mogadiscio had to go to him for help. Ahmad b. Adam, whose dynasty emerged from the struggle with the Persians, provided this support. The Fath ends with a Muslim victory around 1300.

14. From the further history of Harar, we only know the names of rulers from the emir lists. Apparently the capital had to be moved occasionally to other places near Harar. Harar may have become a vassal state of Ifat around this time, which bore the brunt of the struggle with Christian Ethiopia.